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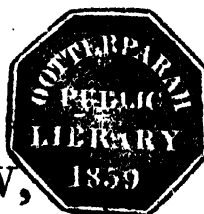
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THE
BRITISH REVIEW,



AND
LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

FEBRUARY, 1824.

ART. XVII.—*A Treatise on the Genius and Object of the Patriarchal, the Levitical, and the Christian Dispensations.*
By George Stanley Faber, B. D. Rector of Long Newton.
Two vols. 8vo. pp. xxiv. & 869. Rivingtons, London.

THE world is indebted to the learned labours of men of research and knowledge, for a large portion both of their entertainment and of their instruction. History, science, and biography each furnish us with abundant matter for the enlargement and enjoyment of our intellectual faculties. But the greatest of all privileges, with which learning has blessed this part of our world, is the introduction from a foreign source, and a foreign tongue, of the Word of God. To learning and piety we are indebted for a pure translation of that book into our vernacular language from the divine originals, as well as for its preservation from destruction, interpolation, or retrenchment. And to the same learned and pious industry it is due, that we can distinguish spurious from genuine productions of biblical authors. The proofs, the *external* proofs at least, of the Divine origin and inspiration of the Bible, are derived from the researches of learned divines. And many difficult passages of Holy Writ, are, through the help of their lucubrations, easily understood. Numberless other advantages, in the way of elucidating the original beauties of the Divine oracles, which are concealed from the mere English reader, are afforded us by their skill. Doubts are cleared up; objections answered;

obscurities made plain; and parallel truths laid in juxtaposition, so as to throw light upon one another.

We must not, however, give our confidence too implicitly to the learned. There is a consistency, a simplicity, a spiritual beauty and harmony, which the honest and humble reader will perhaps feel in the sacred pages, with greater readiness than more wise and ingenious minds. *They* lie under so great a temptation to elicit something *new*, to discover a *system* in the whole line of Divine instruction to man, and to point out correspondencies and analogies with nice shades of discrimination, between divine and heathen authors, that the less informed reader is in danger of being beguiled by their fancied illustrations, "from the simplicity that is in Christ." The two volumes of Mr. Faber, which now lie before us, urge very forcibly these reflections upon us. Bishop Warburton, whose elaborate system on the divine legation of Moses, which Mr. Faber criticizes throughout a large portion of his volumes, has endeavored to establish a system, which unquestionably, in some of its branches, militates against the obvious meaning of religious truth. Mr. Faber, in like manner, to whom we give due credit for obviating in a very masterly and satisfactory manner many of the learned prelate's misconceptions, has himself, (we are sorry to believe,) deviated, in not a few instances, from the plain and literal interpretation of the word of God.

Mr. Faber's *Treatise on the Three Covenants*, is divided into the same number of books; and each of these again is subdivided into chapters, and the chapters into sections. They are styled indeed the *Dispensations of Patriarchism, Israelitism, and Christianity*. But we shall find in them a great deal of matter which, if it cannot be called *extraneous*, is such as we might not expect to find, under a title so divided and explained. We shall examine the books in the order in which they stand.

The object of the first book, which indeed occupies the whole of the first volume, is to develop the character of the *PATRIARCHAL Dispensation*. Mr. Faber says nothing about the *primeval* state of man; nothing about the *law of works*, or the peculiarity of that *covenant*, according to which man was to be saved by his own complete obedience to the Divine will. He has indeed incidentally alluded to the impossibility of our being *now* saved by the law: but we are not sure whether the term *covenant of works* would receive admission into Mr. Faber's creed. However, as he does not introduce the discussion on this subject, it would be gratuitous and perhaps unfair, to draw any unfriendly conclusion from the omission.

In the **FIRST CHAPTER** the author thus introduces his remarks "on the peculiar genius of the three Dispensations, Patriarchal, Levitical, and Christian."

"From the time of the fall down to the termination of the world, man lives under one and the same system of divine grace; a system, which was rendered necessary for him by the very circumstance of the fall, and which therefore at no one period can differ essentially from itself.

"Yet, as in the natural world things do but gradually reach perfection, so likewise is it in the moral world. The scheme of God's mercy commenced indeed with the promise, that *the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent*: but it was successively developed from age to age, until that promised seed was manifested in the flesh at the day of his first advent; nor will it be absolutely consummated, until the Redeemer shall appear again in the day of his second advent to receive his saints into glory and to banish eternally from his presence his irreclaimable enemies." (P. 3.)

After giving us this summary view of the grand outline of divine mercy, Mr. Faber adverts to the *patriarchal* dispensation; the characteristic of which he considers to have been universality.

"The Patriarchal Dispensation was *meant* to be **UNIVERSAL**. If it failed of becoming so *effectively*, the fault was in corrupt man himself." (P. 6.)

He supposes, that Adam and Eve, when banished from Paradise after their fall, colonized in its neighbourhood; where they served God under his kind auspices, he having "*permanently* revealed himself between the cherubim at the eastern gate of Paradise." (P. 8.)

He supposes Cain and Abel to have brought their respective offerings to this spot; and that, when Cain was subsequently banished, and when he departed from the *presence of the Lord*, his departure is so described in allusion to the Almighty's presence there between the cherubim. Cain's grand primary offence is viewed as a determined *rejection* of the mode of reconciliation, through the medium of a "bloody sacrifice," which Mr. Faber considers God to have appointed and explained to our first parents, when he clothed them with coats of skins. He supposes, that

"The secession of Cain produced a marked distinction between the servants of God and the servants of the evil one. His secession, *effectively*, at least, amounted to an excommunication." (P. 9.)

Mr. Faber is not positive respecting the nature of *Cain's apostasy*: but, in opposition to Maimonides, who considered it to consist

"in worshipping the host of heaven, first conjunctively with God, and afterwards exclusively of him," (P. 10.) He believes it was

"the entire discarding of bloody piacular sacrifices, and the systematic adoption of vegetable Eucharistic offerings." (P. 11.)

He considers the descendants of Cain, soon to have become *philosophical* in their scheme of *theology*; that its speculative character quickly produced fruits of a practical nature, not unlike to those we have lately witnessed, under the anti-christian French Revolution, and that this apostasy spread its infection at length so extensively and so radically, that the posterity of *Seth* were ultimately involved in the vortex of corruption and apostasy: the result of which was, that the apostasy became one, which rejected all the essential provisions of salvation, and was consequently of an irreclaimable character. The flood was therefore sent to rid the earth of its totally incurable inhabitants: and

"With the deluge ended the first period of the Patriarchal Church." (P. 13.)

Mr. Faber admits, that the posterity of Noah after the deluge soon became **UNIVERSALLY** corrupt. But he thinks, that the apostasy now totally *changed its character*; and that instead of rejecting the *Atonement* through the medium of a "piacular sacrifice," they went into the opposite extreme.

"The frequent and well-remembered appearances of the Word of Jehovah in a human form soon led to hero-worship: and Adam, Enoch, Noah, and other eminent persons, were thought to have been permanent manifestations of the divine word." (Pp. 13, 14.)

Hence Mr. Faber considers, that gross idolatry, under its various modifications and forms, was generated by a *corruption of the first promise*, made by God to mankind after the fall, but that still subsequently to the deluge, the universal tenet was, that "*without shedding of blood there is no remission.*"

In page 16, Mr. Faber introduces a notion, that "an endless series of miracles," to "*compel*" men to "reject the evil and to embrace the good," is "unsuitable to creatures in a state of probation." We do not admire this mode of putting the matter. We think it is neither good as divinity, nor wise as philosophy. An *endless series* of miracles would become the regular course of Divine Providence; and, as such, would cease to be miraculous. Miracles do not, as is here supposed, when they occur, and would not, were they continued, either despoil man of his free-agency, or compel him to choose the good and refuse the evil, when he lives under the exhibition of them. How few persons who saw Christ's miracles, *believed*, in consequence of those miracles, "*to the saving of the soul!*" The agency of the *Holy Spirit* is necessary, to renew and sanctify the corrupt nature of man, to subdue his rebellion against God, and to implant

repentance and faith in his soul. But (we are sorry to observe) the enforcement of this doctrine is lamentably defective in this treatise.

To preserve the apostate sons of Noah from universal idolatry, (Mr. Faber continues,) God called Abraham, to whom he revealed, in the *scenical* intercepted *sacrifice of his son*, the character and sacrifice of the Son of God. He subsequently established the *Levitical dispensation* for the same gracious end. But the grand characteristic of the *Levitical church* was to be its PARTICULAR appropriation to a single people; in opposition to the UNIVERSALITY of the *patriarchal*. This dispensation was introductory to that of *Christianity*; which again restored and perfected the character of UNIVERSALITY which pervaded the *patriarchal*; Christianity being only the consummation and anti-typical fulfilment of every previous display of God's mercy to mankind, whether scenical, prophetic, or characteristic. Mr. Faber contemplates, as we also joyfully do, that

"Christ will be universally acknowledged as that promised seed of the woman, who has so long been traditionally remembered by the erring Gentiles." (P. 21.)

But he (somewhat *fancifully* we think) states;

"As a present Jehovah was alike manifested between the cherubim at the gate of Paradise, and between the cherubim in the Levitical sanctuary: so there are passages, which seem not obscurely to intimate, that in the last age of the Christian church, a similar manifestation of the incarnate Word, radiant in all the divine effulgence of the Shechinah, will take place in the holy mountain of God. Here, as from a throne, there is some reason to believe, that the Man-Jehovah will preside oracularly, a visible spiritual king, over his obedient people, until the world shall be finally devastated by a deluge of fire, as it was heretofore submerged beneath a deluge of water." (Pp. 21, 22.)

Then will be fulfilled the last grand promise of the "*new heavens and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.*"

Having here given our readers a rather copious summary of the general scheme of Mr. Faber from his first chapter, we must content ourselves with doing little more than barely to recite the title of the next. It consists of

"An Examination of the Theory of Bishop Warburton, relative to the state of man from his first creation to the promulgation of the Law." (P. 24.)

The examination of Warburton's system, which (most of our readers well know) almost denies the ancient fathers to have cherished any hope of an hereafter, we think upon the whole very successful. Mr. Faber allows, with the Bishop, that the great and peculiar sanctions of the Levitical dispensation

were *temporal rewards and punishments*; but he contends very justly, that the *patriarchal* dispensation contained many great and precious promises; and that the *Levitical* dispensation did not *supersede*, but became *additional* to that previous dispensation of grace and mercy.

The third CHAPTER respects

"The length of the six demiurgic days, in the course of which God is said to have fashioned the material world out of chaos:" (P. 111.) and we wish we could give our opinion as favorably, and with as little reserve upon it, as we did upon the last. But this we cannot do, in consistency with our conviction, that it is both erroneous and dangerous. With the system of *geology*, upon which Mr. Faber builds his hypothesis, we shall not now meddle. We cannot, however, forbear from declaring it, as our most decided conviction, that *physiological researches*, however greatly cultivated in the present day, are in *infinitely too incipient and raw a state* to warrant us, for a moment, in using their discoveries as a *criterion of scripture truth*, or as a *corrective of its literal and obvious meaning*. We cannot conceive what should make it necessary for Mr. Faber thus to step out of the legitimate path of Biblical discussion. Bishop Warburton's theory, founded upon the supposition, that the six creative days mean six *natural* days, could surely never require such a step. We should strongly suspect the soundness of that theory, which demanded, as its fundamental principle, so bold an admission, as that of correcting the Bible by *physiology*. Mr. Faber, however, fancies, that the *analogy of language*, in the first place, demands *an extension of the period, from six natural days, to six times six thousand years at least*. He very properly takes, as his gauge of each creative day, the seventh or Sabbath-day, which succeeded: and he rightly argues, that if the *seventh day* can be proved to be a period of vast length, we may, from the homogeneity of language, apply that *same period* to each of the days of creation. But Mr. Faber contends, that

"If God labored six natural days, and rested on the seventh natural day, the very turn of the statement will unavoidably imply that he resumed his labours on the eighth natural day." (P. 114.)

Here we must remind Mr. Faber, that the argument is a mere sophism, and cannot have the least bearing upon the subject, except on a supposition, which is not true; namely, that the Almighty's works were of such a nature that they *admitted of being resumed*; but what relates to a thing as perfected and *finished*, can surely have no *future recurrence*.

Mr. Faber extends the sabbath or *divine rest* to the *end of*

this world, a period of at least six thousand years; and he expects, that God will *resume* his creative labours at its consummation, when he will make a "*new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.*" This is surely too visionary and gratuitous to need a moment's refutation. If Mr. Faber would bring his analogy to bear on the subject, he should produce some passage or passages of scripture wherein the *sabbath day* is used for the period supposed; or at least for a vast and indefinite period. But in every parallel text of scripture where the *seventh* or *sabbath day* is mentioned in allusion to the *creation*; (as Exodus xx. 10, 11. and in Deut. v. 14.) the *natural day* and the *natural day only*, is unquestionably intended. "*SIX DAYS shalt thou labour and do all thy work; But the SEVENTH DAY IS THE SABBATH OF THE LORD THY GOD:—For in SIX DAYS THE LORD MADE HEAVEN AND EARTH, THE SEA AND ALL THAT IN THEM IS, AND RESTED ON THE SEVENTH DAY: Wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day and hallowed it.*"—We are persuaded that no ingenuity can torture this language to mean any thing but what it says, namely, that a *natural day* is the *seventh day* of the Lord our God. The inference then demonstrably is, even upon Mr. Faber's own ground of homogeneity, (*viz.* that if *one* day means a natural day, *all* the creative days must mean natural days) that the *six demiurgic days mean six natural days and nothing more*. As the whole of what the learned author builds upon this argument of extended periods must necessarily fall with their demolished foundation, we need not stop longer to examine its heterogeneous and unwise, however ingenious, construction. We however cannot but observe, that though Mr. Faber declines the collation of the *seventh day* with other passages of scripture, where the *same seventh day* is expressly spoken of, and by which it is positively restricted to the usual period of a *natural day*, he suffers himself to be led from *scriptural* to *heathen* authority, and that upon a subject where the *scripture* alone can afford us any light. He quotes several passages from the *Hindoo Laws*, the writers of which (he assures us) were rightly informed about this matter, to prove, that the six demiurgic days mean periods of vast extent; and that the periods of creation involve various *revolutions* and *destructions* of the works of God.

"During his day of energy (according to the Hindoo Institutes) he creates the world: *his night of repose endures as long as his day: and at the close of his night, having long reposed, he awakes; and awaking, exerts intellect, whose property it is to exist unperceived by sense. Intellect, called into action by his will to create worlds, performs again the work of creation: for numberless are the creations and*

destructions of worlds. The Being supremely exalted performs all this, as if in sport, again and again." (P. 119.)

Were we to spend time in discussing the argument supposed to be involved in this Mythos, our readers would with reason think that we were in *sport* too. We could almost weep to see St. Paul's words, so strictly verified in a case like the present. "*They shall turn away their ears FROM THE TRUTH, and shall be TURNED UNTO FABLES.*" 2 Tim. iv. 4. It is, however, but due to Mr. Faber to notice, that he does not consider his fundamental points to turn upon the length of the six demiurgic periods.

In the fourth CHAPTER it is shewn, that the object of the patriarchal dispensation was to inculcate the doctrine of redemption. Mr. Faber argues that the object of this dispensation could not be to convey the doctrine of the divine unity, nor to teach the duties of morality, nor to propound the divine attributes of wisdom, power, and justice, nor to communicate any knowledge which man would attain while resident in Paradise. It is obvious then that it was a knowledge which affected his miserably altered condition, and taught him whether and how he might hope for a reconciliation with his offended maker. The knowledge of REDEMPTION therefore was the only desideratum; and this knowledge Mr. Faber, we are assured, rightly supposes to have been conveyed by the promise of the woman's seed.

The fifth CHAPTER discusses more at large the knowledge of redemption attained by the righteous servants of God under the patriarchal dispensation. Here Mr. Faber strenuously contends against Bishop Warburton for the point, which he announced in the first chapter; and here he answers

"affirmatively the important question, *whether the drift of the first prophecy was AT ALL understood by the early race of mortals: the next question is, TO WHAT EXTENT they understood it.*" (P. 182.)

It is certainly a subject of no unimportant nature whether the primitive race of men had or had not an adequate knowledge of the way of salvation. We think it deserves to be regarded not as a matter of speculation and curiosity, but as a thing nearly affecting the nature of man's return to God; whether it can be effected without a Mediator, or without an acknowledgment and reception of that Mediator. Bishop Warburton is not the only powerful advocate who has espoused the opposite side. Our own day has exhibited one,* possessed of gigantic powers of mind, of extensive information, and excursive genius, inferior only, if inferior they

* Rev. Robert Hall.

are, to those of Warburton; who contends that the ancient Jews did not comprehend the way of salvation through a Mediator, and that the knowledge of an atonement made no essential part of their creed. He admits that the pious among them worshipped God acceptably, and had a hope of eternal glory; but that their service and their expectations, were founded upon the abstract and *general mercies of God*, which were every where revealed to them, without respect to any piacular sacrifice through which these mercies were to operate. This idea, however, we cannot but consider as altogether at variance with the plain declarations of the word of God, and with the very design and character of a mediator.

Nor do we admit that there is any room for the distinction between the *fact* of the atonement, and the *revelation* of it, which the learned and ingenious author above alluded to has made in this connexion. We consider the distinction to have originated from a mistaken view of the character and design of a *medium of restoration to God*. The *fact* of the atonement is said to be of essential and everlasting obligation, arising from the unchangeable *attributes of the divine nature*, and can never be dispensed with. The *revelation* of the atonement is said to regard *man*, and to be of a moral and influential nature which may admit of omission or substitution. This, however, with all due respect for its author, we confidently believe is a mistake. The *fact* of an atonement does not and cannot respect the Almighty *alone*; nor can a piacular sacrifice be deemed necessary to the justice or honour of God, *independently of man's return to him*. Were no persons contemplated as coming back to God, through this substituted medium, the medium itself would be unnecessary, and in truth would not be a *medium*. We hear of no *atonement* relative to the *fallen angels*, because no restoration is admitted on their part. And if *man* was not allowed to come back to his offended God, no atonement would be required by the essential attributes of the Most High. Justice and truth would get themselves honour by the punishment of the parties offending. But when that punishment is to be remitted, and the sinner saved, a **REVEALED medium becomes necessary.**

If then a mediator is necessary, and an atonement necessary, they are so under the view of their being an *honorable medium*, through which God receives man again unto himself. But a mediator, *not revealed*, is, as to the present subject, no mediator: for he is only a mediator so far as he *mediates*; and the very office of *mediation* respects both *parties*. If the *knowledge* of the medium is not enjoyed by a person on his

approach to God, then he approaches God, not in a mediator's name, but in his own. And if *one* person thus approach the Almighty, each and all may do the same. Then all mankind coming to God without regard to an appointed medium, he must *receive* them coming to him in that character. Men would thus have no respect to the mediator, and God would embrace them, knowing that they had no such respect. The *very character*, therefore, of *mediation*, and the very nature and design of an atonement would be wholly frustrated.

It is to no purpose to reply here that the Almighty would himself be acquainted with the mediator whom he had appointed, which is all that is essential in this matter. It is not all that is essential. For what is *essential* in this case, is an *honorable medium*, by the intervention of which God can be "just, and the justifier of him that believeth." If the knowledge of an atonement be not necessary to returning sinners, that *atonement* might have been made in *secret*, and kept a secret between the eternal Three. What now, we would reverently ask, could make *such* an atonement necessary, or what could it affect? It would in that case affect the Almighty alone. But how? and what would it produce? It certainly was not necessary to render God *merciful*. God's mercy is not purchased, but freely bestowed. The love and mercy of God *provided* the substitute. It was not the atonement which *procured* mercy for man, but it opened a way for the honorable exercise of mercy.

The *exhibition* then of divine justice is *essential* in this behalf. And the very *design* of an atonement implies that it be made the medium of reconciliation *to both parties*. We admit that divine *justice* is an essential and unchangeable attribute of deity. But its exercise becomes necessary, only when his creatures have offended. And must be *made known*, either in the sinner or in the substitute;—in the sinner, if he be ultimately condemned; in the substitute, if the sinner be admitted to favour—But this by the way.

Some *knowledge* of the mediation must (we think) be allowed by every pious mind, to have been always *necessary* to salvation. What *degree* of knowledge was necessary is a very different point, and which it would be difficult to settle. But if a sinner approach his maker, not in his *own* name, but in the name of *another*, the axe is laid at the root of man's self-righteous and self-justifying pride; God is acknowledged as just and gracious; the merit is transferred from the offending creature to the substitute; and thus, as it appears to us, every *essential* purpose of a *mediator* is established. Upon this subject we believe Mr. Faber to have discussed and established

the truth with much force and perspicuity. He supposes, and (we think) with justice, that our first parents had more explanatory information relative to the origin and utility of *sacrifices*, and the personal character of the woman's *seed* who was to accomplish their deliverance, than is precisely recorded in the short account we have in the first revelation. We should be glad, in this chapter, to transcribe largely from Mr. Faber's pages; for we esteem it among the most valuable portions of his elaborate treatise. But our limits forbid us to be too liberal of quotations; as we shall unhappily find it necessary by and by to spend some pages in remarks upon his theoretical visions.

The ingenious author supposes it almost certain, that Adam and Eve would be inquisitive about the nature of the *serpent* and of his *conqueror*. He believes, that

"The minds of Adam and Eve were enlightened by express revelation on the subject;" (P. 186.)

and that the future *deliverer*, the word of Jehovah, was the messenger who communicated that information. Indeed he seems very reasonably and (we would hope) in this instance, not too fancifully, to make the word of God bear in evidence upon the point.

"We are told, that after the fall, the man and his wife HEARD the voice of the Lord God WALKING in the garden, and that they hid themselves from the PRESENCE of the Lord God amongst the trees." (P. 186.)

This *presence* of the Lord is considered as the word of God in human form; and the conference he held with them, his calling them to account for their sin, and his subsequently MAKING them coats of skins, and clothing them, as a proof, that a real human voice and person talked, and was visibly present with them. Yet, (he argues)

"We are assured by St. John, that *no man hath seen God the Father at any time*; but that the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, and who is most unequivocally identified with the man Jesus Christ, he hath declared him." (P. 187.)

"Now respecting this passage, (he observes) it is justly insisted by the Rabbins, that the participle *walking* agrees with the voice, and not with the Lord God; and an inspection of the original will at once convince any Hebraist, that such is the natural and obvious construction of the sentence. What they heard then walking in the garden was a divine person styled *The voice of Jehovah*; and there can be little doubt, I think, that this *voice of Jehovah* is the same being as *The word of Jehovah*, well known to the ancient Targumists by the appellation of *Mimra* or *Dabbar*, and celebrated by Isaiah under the kindred title of *The name of Jehovah*." (P. 187, 188.)

In pursuance of the same subject, Mr. Faber goes on to say—

"Adam and Eve are first said to have HEARD the voice of Jehovah WALKING in the garden. Afterwards, Jehovah is represented, as personally MAKING coats of skins, and as himself clothing them."

"Now the terms HEARD, and WALKING, and MAKING, and CLOTHING, all imply the presence of a REAL HUMAN BODY: the footsteps of which were distinctly heard by Adam and Eve, just as they might mutually hear their own footsteps; and the operative labours of which were distinctly beheld by them, just as they might mutually behold their own operative labours. Accordingly, when in a subsequent part of the Mosaiical history Jehovah, attended by two ministering angels, is expressly said to have appeared to Abraham in the form of a MAN, the very same Hebrew word is employed to describe the act of his departure from that patriarch, as that which is here employed to describe his approach. In the one place Jehovah, with evident reference to the form which he had assumed, is stated to have WALKED AWAY: in the other place, with similar reference (as I conjecture) he is stated to have been heard WALKING in the garden." (P. 193, 194.)

Mr. Faber afterwards argues, that "the notion of *vicarious piacularity*, associated with the oblation of an animal victim, is plainly altogether *arbitrary*, not *obvious* or *natural*. But it is impossible to account for the *universal prevalence* of an *arbitrary* notion, except on the hypothesis of derivation from a common source." (P. 203.)

We agree with Mr. Faber, that the universal prevalence of any thing, proves, that it is either *natural* to man, or received from a common source; and as we cannot perceive *a priori* any reason at all, why *man* should originally *invent* sacrifices, we assuredly believe, that they were of divine origin, and that our first parents were led, at least, into an implicit, but essential acquaintance with their design and utility. But we are not so fully convinced, that what the Almighty said to Cain—"Sin lieth at the door"—is intended to teach, that God wished him to

"bring, as a sacrifice, the animal-victim, which couches at the door of his tent." (P. 207.)

Of the sixth CHAPTER it is utterly impossible for us to afford room for an *analysis*. It is in fact, an epitome of the author's elaborate work on *The origin of Pagan Idolatry*. In this chapter Mr. Faber largely disputes with Bishop Warburton the *priority* of *Hero-worship* to that of *Sabianism*, or the worship of the heavenly bodies. The following extract gives a view of the manner in which the author supposes that *Hero-worship* might naturally have commenced:

* The conducting of such an inquiry, to which all that I have said relative to the idolatry of the Gentiles is to be viewed only in the light of a preface or introduction, will be found, if I mistake not, to afford a very striking proof, that that early race of men, who flou-

rished during the patriarchal ages, whether antediluvian or postdiluvian, were very well acquainted, both with the doctrine of *sacrificial redemption by a predicted future Deliverer*, and with the yet more recondite doctrine that *the predicted Deliverer should be an incarnate anthropomorphic manifestation of the divinity himself*."

"It was declared to our first parents immediately after the fall, that the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent, but that the serpent should bruise his heel.

"With respect to the *precise import* of the phrase, here employed, *the seed of the woman*, let us allow that it was not revealed to Adam and Eve; though in general terms they might have been taught *the nature* of the promised Deliverer! In that case, as such a phrase must obviously have excited no small degree of curiosity and speculation, different opinions would soon arise as to its strict and proper import.

"Since in point of mere grammar we are not absolutely bound to conclude that *the seed of the woman* denotes the EXCLUSIVE *seed of the woman*: two opinions would prevail from the very first, as to the MODE of the Deliverer's birth; though there would be but one opinion, as to his NATURE. The same *knowledge* as that which produced the remarkable exclamation of Eve on the nativity of Cain, would lead all her posterity to agree, that, whenever the Deliverer *did* appear, he would be THE MAN even JEHOVAH HIS VERY SELF: but the same uncertainty as to the precise import of the phrase, which probably led to her hasty exclamation, would induce some to expect, that the GOD-MAN, so far as his corporeal part was concerned, would be born *both* of a mortal father and of a mortal mother, while others, influenced by the genealogical anomalously of the phrase, would contend, that he would be born of a mortal mother exclusively.

"A perversion of these opinions, long remembered and carefully handed down to posterity, was the medium, through which mankind were conducted to that earliest postdiluvian idolatry, the worship of Hero-gods. Except so far as a perversion of such opinions served, as a medium, the human race passed DIRECT to Hero-worship from the adoration of the one eternal Jehovah." (Pp. 298, 299.)

Mr. Faber supposes that a perversion of these speculations would soon insensibly lead mankind from the worship of God thus incarnated, to pay the same respect to other eminent persons, as Adam, Abel, and Noah, who would each

"be fondly deemed an incarnation of the word, or an appearance of the promised son of the woman." (P. 301.)

"Thus easily and naturally sprang up the postdiluvian Hero-worship of the Gentiles, from what I take to have been a fundamental doctrine of patriarchism; when, by artful and ambitious men, that doctrine was impiously perverted, to subserve their own purposes. Mankind were not so idiotical, as gratuitously to forsake the worship of Jehovah, and in his place to adore their defunct ancestors, simply because they *were* their ancestors: but they were taught to believe,

that in venerating certain eminent and remarkable characters, they in reality worshipped the successive incarnate manifestations of that divine Word, who was acknowledged, on all hands, to be Jehovah himself." (P. 312.)

Whether the peculiar mode in which Mr. Faber supposes the apostate race of Adam to have diverged into all their idolatrous abominations, be right or wrong, it must still be allowed to be a subject, however humiliating to the pride of our nature, of great interest to the Christian reader, to trace out a *probable* way by which human nature became so awfully degraded as at length to *worship the creature more than the creator*.

"Let us however adopt (says Mr. Faber) the theory, that eminent men came to be adored, because they were deemed incarnations or *avatars* of the Divine Word; and every difficulty will be removed. Hero-worship will, in that case, spring up easily and naturally out of a perverted patriarchism; and when once it *has* sprung up, it will soon produce Sabianism, on the grounds which the pagans themselves have very definitely set forth; for, if the souls of the heroes were thought to pass after death into the heavenly bodies, then those bodies would obviously be revered as the vehicles or mansions of the canonized heroes." (P. 323.)

The learned and ingenious writer derives from this branch of his discussions a strong argument in favour of the knowledge, which the fathers of Israel or patriarchism must have possessed, relative to the nature and necessity of a peculiar sacrifice. He proceeds, as follows.

"But, if Hero-worship thus originated from perverted patriarchism, we shall immediately perceive, how the speculations of the Gentiles may be employed to demonstrate, that both the nature of the promised deliverer, and the mode in which he would effect our deliverance, must have been well and familiarly known under the ancient patriarchal dispensation. The old patriarchs could not hand down to posterity, what they themselves did not possess. But if the speculations of the Gentiles relative to the sacrifice of their virgin-born God originated from patriarchal tradition, then the patriarchs must have been acquainted with them. If, however, the patriarchs were acquainted with such speculations, they must have had them immediately from the deity; for it is difficult to conceive how these tenets could otherwise have originated in the pure primeval church; it is difficult to imagine that the fathers, without any explanatory revelation, should in all points have hit upon the very interpretation of the first prophecy which the gospel has authoritatively declared to be the true one. Let us then now compare this conclusion, both with the primitive institution of sacrifice, which must have taken place immediately after the fall, because otherwise the raiment of our first parents could not have been fashioned out of the skins of slaughtered animals; and also with the remarkable language employed by Eve on the birth of the primal man-

child—I have gotten the MAN even JEHOVAH HIS VERY SELF;—and we shall be in a manner compelled to believe, that the doctrine of atonement through the voluntary *piacular sacrifice of the virgin-born man-Jehovah* was very far from being unknown even to the earliest members of the ancient patriarchal church." (P. 323, 324.)

Our space will not suffer us to bring the various illustrations forward, which Mr. Faber has drawn from the practices of the heathens, and by which he strenuously endeavors to confirm the truth of the scriptural character of sacrifices. He closes this chapter with a very lengthened relation of "the drama of the Prometheus Desmotes." But of this we shall only give his own summary.

"Jupiter, being determined to destroy the whole human race, and to produce another in its room, withdrew from them the fire of vitality. None of the immortals dared to resist his purpose, save Prometheus alone: but he, animated by love and pity, brought down from heaven the lost fire, restored to men their forfeited lives, and saved them from being irrecoverably consigned to Hades. On this account he was devoted to the severest corporeal sufferings. Pitying man, he yet received no pity himself; but he was publicly exposed, a lamentable spectacle both to Gods and men, of the wrath of Jupiter." (P. 330.)

This Prometheus, when the drama is unfolded by a process, little short of the drama itself, is made out to be *Jesus Christ the great deliverer of the lost human race*. In this chapter especially, there is a prodigious number of classical quotations and references to the authors from whom Mr. Faber has drawn his illustrations. These the learned reader may consult and collate at his leisure.

The seventh CHAPTER, "*Respecting the nature of the antediluvian apostasy*," closes the first volume. Probably the reader may feel some surprise on finding, that this whole chapter, consisting of near ninety pages, is taken up in discussing the question, excited by St. Peter and St. Jude, whether the *angels*, spoken of by them as held in *chains of darkness*, are not to be understood to mean certain *apostate priests of the children of Seth*. Any one, coming to the consideration of such an interpretation of scripture, would (we believe) without some previous acquaintance with the author, be a little staggered at the bold and paradoxical character which it exhibits. And we certainly consider it as no small objection to his construction of the passages, that it is so *remote from the plain and obvious meaning*; and that so extremely circuitous a process is required to get at the sense which the author affixes to them. These two passages where the angels are introduced, are found in 2 Pet. ii. 4. and Jude 6. and are as follow. *The angels, which kept not their first estate,*

but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day. God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness to be reserved unto judgment.

Mr. Faber commences his interpretation by telling us, what every well-informed reader of the scripture knows, that the word *αγγέλως*, which is here translated *angel*, means in general, "*a messenger who conveys tidings;*" which rendering (Mr. Faber contends) it should have received in these places. He has, however, as he seems to believe, a stronger argument, derived from the construction of the original, in which the Greek word, *ταυτοῖς*, which is totally omitted in our translation, determines the sense of the passage. Mr. Faber says,

"The pronoun which they (the translators) have omitted, is the dative masculine *to these*: and the omission occurs after the words *in like manner*, which will be found in the verse immediately following the passage under discussion. This verse they have thus imperfectly rendered: *Even as Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities about them, IN LIKE MANNER giving themselves over to fornication and going after strange flesh, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire.*" (P. 349.)

Mr. Faber observes, that the word which our translators have omitted, being inserted, as it ought, after the word *in like manner*, would entirely change the meaning of the passage: that the passage, as it now stands, leads the reader to refer the words *IN LIKE MANNER*, to *Sodom and Gomorrah*; whereas, if the word which is omitted were duly translated, it would run, *IN LIKE MANNER TO THESE*, and would refer the *LIKE MANNER*, not to *Sodom and Gomorrah*, but to the word *ANGELS*, which went before. In this way the author would have it understood, that the meaning is, that the *angels*, viz. the *messengers*, went after *strange flesh*; and that the cities of *Sodom and Gomorrah* *IN LIKE MANNER TO THESE messengers*, went after *strange flesh* likewise. Then his argument is, as *angels cannot go after strange flesh*, *angels* cannot be intended by that language.

Though we do not build our faith in God's word upon the niceties of criticism, we must deny that Mr. Faber has here obtained the triumph which he claims. We allow his position, but we deny his inference. There certainly is no *insurmountable* objection to our referring the words *in like manner to these*, not to the *angels* but to the *cities about Sodom and Gomorrah*, which sinned *in like manner with Sodom and Gomorrah*: or, even if the words, *in like manner*, be re-

ferred to the *angels*, we do not see, that it should *necessarily* allude to their *sin*, as if *their* sin was precisely *similar* to the *sin* of Sodom and Gomorrah.* It may have reference not to their *sin*, but to their *punishment*; *affording a similar example* of the *divine displeasure against sin*. We confess that the words, *in like manner to these*, are somewhat *distant* from the declaration, that they *are set forth for an example*; and that the next verse appears to favor the construction of a similarity in sin, although indeed in that verse it is not a similarity in sin between the inhabitants of Sodom and the angels, that is intended, but between the inhabitants of Sodom and the polluted and profligate characters of St. Jude's own day. But, if we admit the words respecting the *sin* of these cities to be *explanatory and parenthetical*, the meaning will be extremely plain and easy. They will then (leaving out the parenthesis) stand thus: *Even as Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities about them, IN LIKE MANNER TO THESE angels, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire*. We mention this with diffidence, because we are not aware that any critic has suggested this turn to the subject. But the *context* forcibly impresses our mind with the notion that the *similarity* mainly intended, is a similarity in this circumstance, *viz.* in their becoming *examples of divine vengeance*. But on this criticism, which is very unimportant, we need not dwell. There is (we feel confident) most abundant evidence from the facts of the *history* itself, to overthrow Mr. Faber's far-fetched and whimsical interpretation. Of this, however, we can only give an outline.

The sum of this extraordinary theory is this. Mr. Faber supposes, that by the angels or messengers, mentioned by St. Peter and St. Jude, we are to understand apostate ministers of the children of Seth; that they rebelled against Noah, whose ministry and warnings for one hundred and twenty years were especially applicable to these priests; that fire came down from heaven and destroyed these apostates, when they were attempting to take Paradise by storm,

* "Some have pleaded, that this seems to imply, that the sin of the *angels* was *fornication*; and consequently, that this *Epistle* is not *authentic*. But there seems no necessity for interpreting the expression with such extreme rigour, as if it must mean that their sin was of the *same kind*; it is sufficient that the *comparison* holds in this, that they were both guilty of very great wickedness. There are some who refer τῶν ἁμαρτωρίων τῶν πόλεων, *in like manner with them*, to the cities about them, who sinned in the same manner with Sodom and Gomorrah; nor is it any objection to this, as some have supposed it is, that τῶν cannot agree with Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα: for in reality these nouns are of the *neuter* gender, (see Luke xvii. 29; Mark vi. 11.; Gen. xiii. 10. in the *seventy*): and if they were not, nothing is more common than an *enallage* of gender, in such a case as this, where τοῦτοι must refer to the *men* who inhabited the cities."—Doddridge.

in spite of God's menace and the cherubim and flaming sword, which (he supposes) were still exhibited at the eastern gate for its defence; that the earth opened her mouth, through the violent operation of fire, issuing from beneath, and swallowed them up; that they went down into Tartarus, a word, which St. Peter uses, and which Mr. Faber infers from the heathen mythology to be a cavern situated in the middle of the earth below the sea; and that in this situation these *rebel priests* are reserved in chains of darkness to the judgment of the great day. In detailing these proceedings Mr. Faber supposes that *Noah and Seth's descendants* continued around Paradise, and that *Cain's posterity* inhabited the contiguous neighbourhood, and were very hostile to them, and at last, after a manner, besieged them; till being ultimately aided by the secession of corrupt priests from Seth's line, their infidel boldness urged them to that destructive enterprise, the recovery of Paradise, which ended in their ruin. He also infers from the homogeneity of the subject, that where *angeli* are mentioned in the context, (as 2 Peter ii. 11.) they mean *mortal men*; but that *Michael the archangel*, spoken of in Jude 9, means *Jesus Christ*, the chief messenger of God to man.

Mr. Faber quotes Josephus, as well as both the Old and New Testaments, and numbers of classical authors, in confirmation of this theory. The reader will agree with us, that citations from Pagan authors, about the Tartarus and about Plutus, can bring little evidence in proof of the meaning of the term *angeli*, as used in the Scriptures. The testimony of both Old and New Testament is against him; and even Josephus, from whom he borrows part of his scheme, does not make much for him.

The *Old Testament* (we seem quite sure) gives no countenance to this fancy. It nowhere mentions, that the apostasy and corruption of the antediluvians consisted at all in this *priestly* secession and rebellion against *God's high priest, Noah*. The *sons of God* (who are not called either *messengers* or *priests*,) married sinful (or idolatrous) women. They were great apostates from truth and righteousness. They were bloody, cruel, and flagitious. But no intimation is given of their particular attack upon the high-priestly function; or indeed of any specific sins, but the sin of unbelief, luxury, and violence. Again, the notion of a *colony of Seth's descendants surrounding Eden*, and another concentric circle of *settlers* without those bounds, but in their immediate neighbourhood surrounding them, seems vastly too *local* and confined a view, for the history of the case. The "EARTH

was FILLED with violence through them." To represent Cain's and Seth's descendants then as *two parties*, like little armies opposed to each other, appears to fall very far short of the energy of that description.

The *New Testament* is directly pointed against Mr. Faber's interpretation. The passage in 2 Pet. ii. 11, *Whereas angels, which are greater in power and might, bring not railing accusation against them before the Lord*; is parallel, as admitted by Mr. Faber, to Jude 9, where it is said—*Yet Michael the archangel, when, contending with the Devil, he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, "the Lord rebuke thee!"* Now on Mr. Faber's interpretation, these *angels* are pious *messengers* or *priests* of God: which cannot be correct; for they are said to be *greater in power and might*. To say here, as Mr. Faber does, that these *pious messengers* are *greater in SPIRITUAL power and might* than the *false teachers who DENY the Lord that bought them*, is nearly an *identical* proposition, and can convey *no information*. And with respect to *temporal* or *bodily* power, there cannot possibly be any justice in it, whether it apply to the time of the Apostles, when the church possessed no temporal power, or to the antediluvians. For *those adversaries* of the church were, as Mr. Faber after Josephus asserts, a *powerful and turbulent race*, like the ancient *Titans* or *giants*.* (414.) Besides, if these passages are parallel, and if *Michael* mean *Christ*, it will prove that *Christ* contended with the Devil about the body of Moses; which sounds rather harshly. But it will further prove, that these pious *angeli*, or *messengers*, mentioned by St. Peter, were *JOINED WITH CHRIST* in the *contention about the body of Moses*. For what is said by *Jude* respecting *Michael* the *ARCHANGEL*, is said by *St. Peter* relative to these *ANGELS*. The *ANGELS bring not railing accusation against them before the Lord*, says *St. Peter*. But *Jude* says, *Michael*, the *ARCHANGEL*, *durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said—"The LORD rebuke thee!"* Now, in the first place, it is not likely that *Christ* as the *God of Satan*, should have addressed him *thus*. Even in his *humiliation* he did not accost him with the language of *supplication* to God, but said, *GET THEE BEHIND ME, SATAN!* But again. If these *pious messengers*, or *priests*

* The great argument for humility, meekness, submission, and peace, which is here urged from the demeanour of the *angels*, when contending with the adversaries of the church, would be lost, were *mortal men* to be understood by *angels*. If the *angels* bring no railing accusation, how much more ought creatures, so greatly inferior in "power and might," to address princes and magistrates with respect and reverence!

of God, had UNITED with Christ the archangel, in contending for the body of Moses, they would have been acquainted with his sepulchre, and, indeed, present at his burial. This, however, seems contrary to the express declaration of the Scripture, which says, *Moses, the servant of the Lord, died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord. And he (the Lord) buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Bethpeor; but NO MAN KNOWETH of his SEPULCHRE unto this day.* (Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6.) Once more. Mr. Faber's hypothesis respecting these apostate *angeli*, as the apostate *priests* of Noah's days, who (he says) were consumed by fire at the bursting up of the deluge, would make the destruction of the wicked angels, and the destruction of the wicked at the deluge, ONE CATASTROPHE; whereas St. Peter clearly makes them two. He distinguishes as truly between the fact, that God spared not the angels that sinned, and the fact, that he spared not the old world at the flood, as he does between the fact of the destruction at the flood, and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.

Josephus differs, at least in two essential particulars, from Mr. Faber. He says, that the *angels of God married with the daughters of SETH*. We suppose Josephus by angels means, as Moses calls them, the *sons of God*. He adds also, contrary to the whole scheme of Mr. Faber, that Noah, instead of remaining under the shadow of Paradise, being wearied with their perverseness, and afraid for his own life, emigrated with his wife, children, and all his family into another country.

Lastly, it is to us quite incredible, that a FACT SO extraordinary should have been well known to Josephus, and to all the heathen as well as Christian world; and yet not one hint be given respecting it in the word of God. This omission, added to the extreme absurdities and inconsistencies which we have, in a few instances, shewn to attach to Mr. Faber's hypothesis, will, we trust, be more than sufficient to warn the biblical reader against such visionary and dangerous interpretations.

Our notice of Mr. Faber's second volume must meet with somewhat more dispatch.

The first two CHAPTERS of the second book continue the consideration of the *knowledge*, possessed by the Old Testament saints from the PATRIARCHAL to the LEVITICAL dispensation. The true *rationale* of the deluge Mr. Faber holds to have been, as we have stated already, universal apostasy from the doctrine of the Atonement. The postdiluvian apostasy, on the contrary, he views as built upon the express recognition of that doctrine. Hence he considers the former

absolutely incurable, and needing utter excision: but conceives, that the latter might exist with reformation. The *Patriarchal* dispensation was intended to perpetuate the knowledge of the true God, and the doctrine of redemption. The *Levitical* had the same intention, under a different form. Under this second chapter, Mr. Faber continues, with complete success we think, to combat the opinions of Bishop Warburton, respecting the knowledge of a future state, possessed by the ancient patriarchs. Mr. Faber, upon this subject, brings three arguments to bear; that is,—the translation of Enoch,—the preaching of Enoch,—and the testimony of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

In the third chapter, on *the degree of knowledge respecting a future state of retribution, possessed by those who lived under the Levitical dispensation*, Mr. Faber recapitulates and establishes the ground he has already gained, in respect to the patriarchs. Abraham is stated to have known and transmitted to his descendants the doctrine of redemption, with which a future state is connected. The evidence of the Scriptures is then examined upon these points; under which he very properly marks, against Bishop Warburton, the difference between the *silence* of the *Israelites*, and the silence of their *historians*. Doubtless there is a great distinction to be made here. Their *knowledge* was necessary to their *own personal salvation*; but a *history of their faith*, is not so needful to our salvation.

The fourth chapter respects the Sanctions of the Law of Moses. The sanctions of the Law of Moses were temporal rewards and punishments. God being their king, he ruled them like any other prince, with this advantage however, that he was able to *reward* obedience to his commands with positive blessings; which other kings cannot do, and therefore content themselves with penal sanctions against disobedience. Mr. Faber rightly considers that the gospel of the patriarchal dispensation continued its influence under the law; and that this twofold character of the Israelitish revelation will explain many things otherwise difficult to be comprehended. Mr. Faber argues—

“Accordingly we find the Apostle alluding to this double sanction; under which, not the ceremonial, but the moral Law was enforced. *GODLINESS is profitable unto all things, having the promise of THE LIFE WHICH NOW IS and of THAT WHICH IS TO COME.* Under patriarchism, godliness had promise only of a *future life*: hence we may observe Jacob and the patriarchs exposed to many severe trials, and confessing that they were strangers on the earth. Again under christianity, godliness has promise only of a *future life*; though it is the grand privilege of that dispensation, that its great prophet should have

eminently brought life and immortality TO LIGHT through the gospel: hence the Saviour addresses his disciples; *In the world YE SHALL HAVE TRIBULATION, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.* Under Judaism alone, partly in consequence of its having been ADDED to patriarchism, and partly in consequence of its theocratic administration, godliness had promise both of the life that now is, and of that which is to come. The same extraordinary circumstance, if I mistake not, will once more occur during the millennial period, when Christianity itself shall be ADDED to evangelized Judaism." (P. 149, 150.)

Doubtless there is something in these observations. But we are not sure whether the love of contrast is not more apparent in them, than the sobriety of truth. It cannot surely be doubted that *Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph*, were under a *particular providence*, notwithstanding their pilgrimage; and that *David*, under a temporal system, was peculiarly tried: and surely *Christianity* is to those nations, that embrace it, a wonderful *temporal blessing*. Moreover, nothing can well be more clear than the fact, that St. Paul in his epistle to Timothy, in the words above quoted, (1 Tim. iv. 8.) applies that declaration of *godliness being profitable for all, and having the promise of the life which now is, and of that, which is to come, to Christians*, and to the present times, though unquestionably no such *temporal* promises as the Jews especially had, can now be claimed.

"Under *patriarchism* (Mr. Faber says) GODLINESS *had the promise ONLY OF A FUTURE LIFE.*" (P. 149.)

This is far from being correct. God spake to Noah, and said, *'I will establish my covenant with you, neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood.'* God said of Abram; *I will make of thee a great nation; and I will bless thee, and make thy name great. Unto thy seed will I give this land.* How difficult is it to form Theories and establish Systems without being confronted by the word of truth!

The fifth Chapter respects

"the notices of a future state, discoverable in the Pentateuch." (P. 151.)

We regret that we must not make a large extract out of this chapter, from pages 183—186. The Author thinks it "abundantly clear, that the ancient Israelites well knew the holy of holies to be a designed transcript of heaven, and that God was to be reconciled to man, and that the injury of the serpent was to be repaired through the instrumentality of the promised seed." (P. 183.)

The sixth Chapter, which consists of three sections, respects "the doctrine of a future state, as discoverable in the book of Job." (P. 184.)

The two first sections are occupied in finding out the age, family, and country of Job, and the author of the book which bears his name. Mr. Faber believes Job to have been the

Jobab of Genesis, his country Idumea, his family the stock of Esau, his age that of Esau's grandson. The *Author* of the *Book* Mr. Faber considers to have been *Elihu*; but that this *Elihu* is no other than the great lawgiver of Israel, *Moses himself*. It will not consist with our design to investigate this matter. We think, however, that Mr. Faber has involved himself in difficulties by making *Elihu* and *Moses* the same person.

Mr. Faber has a conceit that *no part* of the Old Testament was written by any person but an *Israelite*. But unquestionably the *Fourth* chapter of *Daniel* was written by *Nebuchadnezzar*; and very probably the *Book of Job* by *Elihu*, not by *Moses*. He speaks (in p. 239.) of the *Israelites*, to whom "*appertain the promises*," (Rom: ix. 4, 5.) because their privilege it was "*first to record them*." But can this be any better than a fiction of system? For the "*covenant of promise*" was established *four hundred and thirty years before* the *Legal Dispensation*; and that promise was not made *first* to Israel, or to an *ISRAELITE*, but to his GRANDFATHER *Abraham*. Besides, the *opposition*, which Saint Paul makes there, is not between having *interest* in the promise, and *recording* the promise, but between having *interest* and *no interest*, between being children and aliens, blessed or cursed. The great argument of Mr. Faber, by which he endeavors to demonstrate, that the *Book of Job* was written by an *Israelite*, is founded on this passage of Job: (xxx. 26—28.) '*If I have beheld the Sun, when it shined, or the Moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand, THIS ALSO WERE AN INIQUITY TO BE PUNISHED BY THE JUDGE; for I should have denied the God that is above.*' (240.) Mr. Faber's argument from this is, that Job speaks of *idolatry*, as a crime, to be punished by the *magistrate*. But there was *no law* before or besides that of *Moses*, which prescribed or authorized such a punishment; therefore no one but an *Israelite*, and that after the *law* was given, could write this clause. Mr. Faber, moreover, in order to strengthen this argument, pleads in opposition to Archbishop Magee, that *Moses* could not, durst not, *alter* or *add* to what *another* might have written in the *Book of Job*.

But the learned author falls here into a dilemma, and entangles himself in his own net. For, though he positively denies that *Moses* had any authority to vary or add to the *writing* of another, who was inspired by God, he allows *Moses* a right to *alter*, to *add to*, or to *vary* the *HISTORY* of *Job*, and to make *Job* or his connexions *speak* what he pleases. This we cannot admit. Certainly no *inspired* author can any

more *mis-state* what is said or done, or *add* to or *change* what is *said* by another, than he can *alter* what is *written* by another. But on Mr. Faber's supposition, the words—*this were an iniquity to be punished by the judge*, are recorded as THE VERY WORDS OF JOB. Therefore, whether the *writer* were Job or any other person, he is answerable for the truth and correctness of what he relates. Moses, however, as an inspired penman, could not record this as Job's language, if it were not his language. The inspiration of Moses forbids this. If it be admitted, that the *subject* of this poem was fact, and not the *language*, TRUTH forbids Moses to put such language as this into the mouth of Job; because it would be an unfaithful record. It would be an outrage on the character of *history*. It would *antedate* the law of *punishment* by the judge for *idolatry*. It would teach all posterity what was not *true*; namely, that others besides the *Israelites* possessed such a law. It would estroyd the use of chronology, and confound and synchronize distant facts. It would mingle the laws and usages of nations, no way related or similarly governed. Moreover, to give *such* information in the Book of Job, would be *useless* and *detrimental*, useless as information to the *Israelites*, because they had *this law* more formally *recognised* in their own canon; and as to *posterity*, they would be deceived by it into a belief, that Job was acquainted with a law, which only began to exist years after his decease. Now we may ask, with Mr. Faber, who authorized Moses to *make this FALSE RECORD* of facts, words, and circumstances? And if Moses *invented this* part of Job's conversation, why not the whole? What *information* then can be derived from the book of Job?

On the other hand, why may not this word be understood to mean *my judge*? and thus referred to God? Or why are we *bound* to say that this *judge* must needs mean a *magistrate*? How easy also would it be to give the language a little freedom and ambiguity, thus—*This also were an iniquity to be punished by the JUDGE*; (not *judges* as in verse 11.) viz. by the *judge* whose office it is to take cognisance of *this matter*, whether *that judge* be a human magistrate, or the *God that is above*.

Again, Mr. Faber supposes (p. 253.) that the *writer* of this poem has actually laid the *scene* of his drama *after the time of Job*, and alluded in it to the time and *acts of Moses*. In consequence of this he has violated all *historic truth* and *propriety*. By making MOSES the SAME person with ELIHU, and *subsequent* to the time of Job, he has literally introduced a *new character* into his POEM, and put into the mouth of ELIHU SIX CHAPTERS in the poem as *spoken in the presence of Job*, and intended for his conviction, not *one word* of which could have

been uttered in his *hearing*, or indeed *during his lifetime* ! Thus, Mr. Faber turns the *history* of Job in great measure into an *allegory*, after all.

But we have a greater objection in the rear than even this. The author makes the *SUBJECT* of the book or poem of Job to be—“*justification and pardon through the atoning Mediator.*” And the great subject of discussion to be—

“Whether a man's OWN RIGHTEOUSNESS COULD OR COULD NOT JUSTIFY HIM BEFORE GOD.” (P. 281.)

All this may be endured. But what follows cannot, (we feel confident,) be allowed by any pious mind, whose views and feelings are brought into due subjection to the word of God. Mr. Faber makes Job to take *the AFFIRMATIVE* on the subject of man's JUSTIFICATION BY HIS OWN WORKS. And what is very strange, he makes Job HIMSELF the *EXEMPLAR* of his *own doctrine*, that *man is justified by his own works* ; and he assures us, that Job, throughout the entire discussion with his *friends* and even with Elihu, till God appears before him in a whirlwind,

“Clings to the notion of his own meritorious dignity, and roundly maintains his own meritorious integrity, though he is sometimes compelled to qualify a little the strength of his language.” (Pp. 298, 299.)

Job's friends are viewed as taking the *negative* side of the argument against this self righteous pharisee ; when Elihu is introduced as a *moderator* between them : but, he failing to convict Job, the Almighty at last interferes, and this perverse self-justiciary is brought to confess *his sin, and repent in dust and ashes.*

This accusation of the best man then under heaven, we consider one of the most exceptionable parts of Mr. Faber's highly exceptionable theories. Nothing could well be more easy, did it consist with our design, than to shew the *entire inconsistency*, and *selfdestructive* character of this scheme. But, when a man gives up his understanding to theoretical speculations, it is a mercy, as well as a wonder, if he stop within the range of hallowed and scriptural boundaries. The character of such men as Job requires to be approached by persons whose Christian experience and whose broken and subdued passions and feelings, have taught them how to treat the righteous under temptation. High-minded disputations and systematizing fancies are among the very worst qualities we can bring for the due estimation of righteous characters under the rebukes of the divine countenance. To make Job a self-righteous moralist, similar in spirit and principle to *Saul of Tarsus*, is a perversion of the history of this upright man, and has the effect of confounding a proud

self-opinionated sincerity, with true conversion of heart to God.

This, however, is totally at variance with *God's testimony* of the character of Job previous to his trials. *Hast thou considered MY SERVANT Job, that there is none like him in ALL THE EARTH, a PERFECT and an UPRIGHT man, one that feareth God and escheweth evil?* (Job i. 8.) Job's conduct towards his sons when they had been feasting, and his offering a *burnt offering continually* for each of them, is a *positive demonstration*, that he did *not* hold that *man is justified by his own righteousness*. If we fairly examine the history of Job's disposition and views, as recorded in his discourses with his friends, we shall find that he never asserted any thing which can equitably be construed into such a meaning. His friends mistook his *character*, and charged him with *hypocrisy* and fraud, in his pretensions to religion. Their disputes were fundamentally of a *personal* and not *doctrinal* nature. What then had Job to do but to repel the *charge* which was brought against him? The grand hinge, therefore, of Job's discourse throughout, is, what respects primarily his *own* character and pretensions. The uprightness and integrity of his heart before God, he strongly and tenaciously asserts. But surely there is an amazing difference between a man's being upright and consciously sincere in his profession, and his urging that uprightness as the ground of his acceptance with God. Was not Saint Paul as conscious of his *integrity* after his conversion as before it? and did he not *justify* his *character* and integrity against his accusers? Yet we hear him most strenuously asserting that he was justified by grace and not by his own works; even though he maintained that he "labored more abundantly than" all the apostles.

Job never relied on his own righteousness for justification and acceptance in the sight of God. Nay, he uniformly rejected it. (See ch. vii. 20. ix. 2. 3. 15. 20. 30. 31. x. 15, &c.) Nor does he appear to have attempted any such thing as Mr. Faber imputes to him. He is not *charged* with *this sin* when the Almighty calls him to account. He attested his integrity indeed, and sometimes at least not in a very humble way;—he became fretful and impatient, and cursed his day;—he even considered God to have dealt hardly or cruelly with him;—and he seems to have viewed his case with unbelief and despondency: Not, however, as it respected his *future* prospects, but his present distresses. For he avowed his *Faith* in his *Redeemer*, and his assurance of a *joyful resurrection*. The great quarrel of God with Job was

this; Job found fault, and complained of the Almighty's dealings towards him. He had justified his own character, and, during the extremity of his affliction and cruel treatment from his friends, and his overwhelming calamities from the hand of God, he had been tempted to speak reproachfully, at least very disrespectfully, of his Maker. *This is what Jehovah accuses him of; and what Job instantly felt and repented of, when God addressed him out of the whirlwind.*

The most demonstrative evidence however of Job's views of justification by his Redeemer, and his right doctrinal notions respecting his acceptance with the most high, is the direct *testimony* of God's own APPROBATION of Job's doctrine respecting his maker. The Almighty said to Job's friends *Ye have not SPOKEN OF ME the thing that is RIGHT, like MY SERVANT JOB.* This testimony could not POSSIBLY have been thus given to Job in preference to his friends, had Job, as Mr. Faber insists, pleaded for *justification* before God by his own works, while *they* pleaded for justification by faith. For of all *wrong* things which can be *spoken of God*, the assertion that *He will justify man for his own righteousness*, is about the farthest from the thing that is right. Still further in demonstration of this point, God sent Job's friends to Job himself to offer their sacrifice, and to receive the benefit of *his* prayers; for *Him* (saith JEHOVAH) WILL I ACCEPT. And God calls Job "MY SERVANT," four times in one verse; but tells Job's friends, *my wrath is kindled against you!*

Nor is it any objection to what we have here said, that Job is admitted at last to have professed a high sense of *God's purity* and *his own* sinfulness and unworthiness. His acknowledgement of these truths is certainly no proof that before this he sought *justification by his own works*. It is proof indeed; that he learned under this display of the divine glory and grace, more, abundantly more, of *his own impurity* and of *God's holiness*, than he had known before this. But this is in perfect correspondence with the Almighty's usual dealings towards his most faithful and most holy servants. Did not Isaiah feel something of the same sensation when he cried, *I am a man of unclean lips*? And did not Daniel and St. John, under a bright display of the glory of the Saviour, fall at his feet *as dead*? But were they *self-righteous* and proud up to those periods? And may we not advert to a somewhat analogous instance in our own day, of a man who had for between forty and fifty years, lived *most decidedly* upon the *free grace of God in Christ Jesus*, and who would rather have parted with his life than with his confidence in God, who nevertheless had such a discernment of

his own vileness and of the holiness of God during his last affliction, that he prayed—DO NOT ABHOR ME, THOUGH I BE ABHORRIBLE!* Where moreover would be the *benefit of affliction*, if nothing was learned thereby of the glory of God, and of the evil and deceitfulness of our own hearts?

The third book of Mr. Faber occupies but a little more than a hundred pages of the second volume: and as there is not much in it but what is familiar to most evangelical readers, we may be allowed to pass it over more rapidly. The *second* chapter indeed, which treats of the ancient manner of *covenanting over a sacrifice*, is not so familiar. Mr. Faber is quite out of patience with our translation of διαθήκη in Heb. ix. 15—20. He has himself given a translation of the whole passage, in which he always uses the word *covenant*, not *testament*. To his translation however we have several objections. One, that is to our mind quite decisive, is, that it does not represent ὁ διαθεμένος to be what the rules of construction inevitably require, the author of the διαθήκη.

The following extract is a pretty good specimen of the author's reasoning talent. It is directed against the Socinians.

"Our Lord is addressing his heavenly Father: *Father, says he, the hour is come; glorify thy son.* Now, in the course of his address, the proposition before us is enunciated: *This is life eternal that they might know THEE the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* The address therefore being made to God the Father, it follows that God the Father is declared to be the only true God. Hence it is argued by Socinian writers, that, since the Father is declared to be the ONLY true God, our Saviour Christ and the Holy Ghost are NOT truly God, real and essential divinity being ascribed by Jesus himself to the Father ALONE. The fallacy of this argument lies in a palpable mistatement of our Lord's very precise and accurate language. Christ declares, that *his Father is the only true God.* But the Socinian commentators, virtually represent him as declaring, that *his Father only is the true God.* Now, between these two propositions, *The Father is the only true God* and *The Father only is the true God*, there is a radical and essential difference. The first of them is laid down by our Lord; and it speaks an undoubted verity: the second is laid down by Socinian commentators; and it speaks an undoubted falshood." (Pp. 369—371.)

Mr. Faber then analyses this proposition of our Lord, and finds it to teach these *two* things, that *there is an only true God*, and that *the Father is the only true God*. But this (he rightly contends) makes nothing for the Socinian heresy: for it says not one word in *opposition* to the following propositions, the truth of which is derived from other sources: *viz. There is an only true God, but Jesus Christ is the only true*

God: There is an only true God, and the Holy Ghost is the only true God. Thus we see, how capable our author is of grappling with the most insidious adversaries of divine truth in their strongest hold.

Mr. Faber finds in the *Christian dispensation* a full development of the grand truths, darkly enunciated under the Patriarchal and the Levitical dispensations. It enforces

"The vital doctrine of redemption through a divine mediator, and the consequent certainty of eternal life with a degree of clearness and fulness which can only spring from a now actually completed deliverance." (P. 315.)

After thus going over Mr. Faber's two volumes, though we have used all freedom of remark as we went along, the reader will perhaps expect that we should give some account of the general character of the work; its merits and imperfections; its redundancies and its omissions, because it may reasonably be supposed that a Treatise upon the THREE DISPENSATIONS, from so great a master as Mr. Faber undoubtedly is, should develop something, peculiarly worthy of the perusal of biblical readers; especially as we have now, in the nineteenth century, had time to view dispassionately, and cull cautiously out of all, which has been said by our forefathers under less friendly circumstances.

The advantages, attending the present performance, (it will obviously strike the reader) are, that it is the production of a powerful mind; of a mind stored with universal information, and as conversant with the stores of antiquity as with the most familiar and modern topics; of a mind moreover, bold and intrepid enough to attack any adversary, or to push at any principle, however venerable, and to uphold any theory, however new. He possesses resources and is furnished with analogies and coincidences sufficient to give plausibility to every subject he may choose to espouse, and to cause some disturbance to any edifice he may choose to attack. There is a prodigious fund of learning, displayed in the collation of classical authors; and a stock of information, not often found in volumes of this description. Mr. Faber's talent of reasoning and induction too, are of no ordinary class; and the fearless vehemence, with which he bears us forward to his conclusions, has sometimes almost the irresistible impetuosity and overpowering influence of a land-flood.

Mr. Faber's outline, moreover, of scriptural truth, we consider to be clearly enunciated and powerfully defended; especially the origin, the nature, and the design of sacrifice. And here it is, that the learned author has made his ample

treasures of knowledge concerning pagan usages tell with greatest force and utility. But his wild and exuberant fancy, which is the greatest mischief with this author, too frequently leads him into analogies and theories which are neither obvious, nor perhaps admissible. We are induced, in this place, to state our regret, that Mr. Faber did not bring his amazing acquaintance with classic lore, to bear upon a subject, in alliance indeed with the above, but of an opposite character. He has, even to excess we think, drawn a parallel between pagan and scriptural authority, and shewn us many correspondences and analogies: but what we should have been also peculiarly gratified to see, from a master so capable of the task, is, a clear and perspicuous line of demarcation between *scriptural* verities and fabulous and corrupted *traditions*, and between the *effects* produced by these different systems. We should like to know, not only wherein they *agree*, but in what they differ; both in theory, and in spirit and practice. For, as "*no lie is of the truth*," and (we are sure) can never produce the same *effects* as truth, it were ardently to be wished, that some *Master in Israel* would inform us, what *Christianity* is, and what it is not; what *paganism* is, and what it is not: and wherein the truths believed, the spirit imbibed, and the hopes possessed by the weakest *true Christian*, differ from those of the most *privileged and exalted pagans*. We believe *Gentilism* and *Christianity* to be two essentially different things. And who so qualified to tell wherein the difference lies, as those who have such intimate knowledge of both.

Many most valuable purposes might be answered by a judicious and wise discussion of such a topic. It might indirectly apply, in a very useful manner, to our classical *seminaries*, and lead young minds to discern the *advantages* and the dangers of pagan authorities; it might also correct many crude and mischievous sentiments, too common in our day, about the moral and religious state of the heathen world, and would thus illustrate the necessity of Christian missions; and (we might hope) it would induce many to inquire *personally*, wherein they themselves differ from the *world that lieth in wickedness*.

The great *omission*, however, and which we must consider as a serious *defect* in a Treatise upon the *Christian Dispensation*, is this. Mr. Faber has said next to nothing about its *grand peculiarity*, its being a *Dispensation of the Spirit*. Christ, having ascended on high, fulfilled his promise to his disciples: I WILL SEND YOU ANOTHER COMFORTER, THAT HE MAY ABIDE WITH YOU FOR EVER. This promise belongs to

the universal *Church of Christ*: and to see, that nothing is professedly introduced into these volumes upon so vital a subject, gives us much pain. In connexion with this omission we must mention another, allied to it, and perhaps consequent upon it; and that is, the genuine nature of CONVERSION, or that *change* of views, of heart, and of life, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, which is essential to true Christianity in this world, and to our hopes hereafter. The atonement is indeed throughout the whole Treatise asserted and defended in a masterly manner; but we regret to find so little use made of this atonement, and of the offices of CHRIST in general, in our daily approaches to God. We learn in the Bible, that *Christ crucified* was the life and delight of the souls of the primitive Christians. By *this* they had constant access to God; through *this* they were *crucified to the world, and the world to them*; in view of *this* they *lived upon a world to come*, and entered beforehand into an enjoyable acquaintance with *that within the veil*.

Nothing is also said by our author on the nature and the design of eternal punishment. The glory of God, the righteousness of his government, or the happiness and stability of the blessed, will doubtless in some way or other be affected by that awful procedure. For "God does not afflict willingly or grieve the children of men." Where the voice of God is silent, we have no authority to speculate: but doubtless the *truth* and *equity* of endless punishment ought to have been asserted and justified in a work like this.

But we cannot close without reverting to what is the characteristic peculiarity of the treatise and the author, a free indulgence in novel theories, deduced out of the pure word of God. Though we fear, that the learned author is himself past cure with respect to the drift of his contemplations, we would most earnestly and affectionately caution our younger readers against indulging their *fancies* in the interpretation of the word of God. We might be almost sure *à priori*, that in any given passage that meaning, which it requires a very ingenious and lively imagination to find out, is a wrong one. We are far from discouraging a fair and chastised criticism. Let learning and ingenuity here have their full scope! But, where obvious meanings are made to give way to system or to visionary inventions, in violation of context or the general analogy of scriptural truth, who can tell whereunto this may grow? The plainest truths, whenever they become unpalatable, will ever find ingenious divines ready to explain them away.

ART. XVIII.—*Essays, relative to the Habits, Characters, and moral Improvement of the Hindoos.* London. Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen. 1823. 8vo. Pp. 351.

No nation ever assumed an attitude of dignity, more imposing than that, in which Great Britain now stands, when she is seen, stretching out the hand of beneficence and compassion to three quarters of the globe.

In our last number but one, we took a slight view of the efforts, which are making in this country, to raise the imported population of the West Indies from their abject condition of slavery and heathenism to the rights of men, the privileges of subjects, and the dignity of Christians. In that article we pointed out, while this end is steadily kept in view, the importance of preparing the mind of the slave for that highest boon, which we are most anxious to confer; and we ventured moreover to suggest the practicability and the necessity of adopting measures on a larger scale than seem to have been yet contemplated, for instructing them in the Christian faith, and attaching them to our national communion. These two objects of the moral and civil emancipation of the negro are far too momentous and interesting to suffer us, especially now that public attention is awake to the subject, to keep them long out of sight; and we therefore hope, in an ensuing article, to lay before our readers an abstract of all that has been lately attempted or accomplished, promised or undertaken, with that view, and indeed to enter into a fuller examination of the whole case than we have hitherto had time to indulge in.

Some allusion was also made in another part of the same number to those persevering and truly benevolent labours, which have been undertaken, labours, which amidst the most appalling discouragements have notwithstanding been most eminently blessed, for communicating to the negro, recaptured from a slave-ship, the knowledge and the power of Christianity. As to the success of those exertions, without entering into any detailed consideration of it at present, certainly few sights on this earth could be more cheering to humanity than that, which was lately presented by an assemblage of Christian negroes, weeping in silence around the bed of their apparently dying missionary and instructor, and all uniting in fervent prayer for his recovery. "When my disease, (says Mr. Düring) had come to a crisis, I was seized with agonizing pain. This was very soon known; and in a little time the bed-room and piazza were filled chiefly with the

communicants, all viewing me, as certainly dying. No distressful, howling noise, as practised by their brethren in their natural state, was heard. But silent tears were seen, running down their cheeks in great abundance, while the more hardly vented their grief in sighs and groans. The sight was too much for me. I desired them to remove at least so far, that I could not see them. One man, who seemed to have been thinking of what I said, came close to the bed, and said very feelingly—‘*Massa, do not drive us away! We come to see what we can do for you. Suppose you tell us to fetch doctor from town! We can go, and carry him up quick.*’—‘*Ah!*’ said I. ‘*No earthly doctor can help me, if the Lord, Jesus Christ, does not. The only thing, that is left for me and you, is to fly to him in our trouble. I should be obliged to you, if you would pray with me.*’ No sooner had I uttered the words, than all were instantly on their knees, like soldiers, well exercised in the use of their arms. Many times have I felt the power of prayer. But to a season, like this, I had been a stranger until now.”

But it is not our intention to expatiate on either of these subjects at present. We are anxious rather to introduce to our readers some of the efforts, which are making with the same views of enlightened philanthropy, to elevate the intellectual and purify the moral character of another degraded portion of the human race, with which indeed we stand still more nearly connected, though at a greater distance: we mean the natives of India.

Without adverting now to the ecclesiastical establishment for that immense province, and the benefits to be expected from its newly-erected mission-college, it is interesting to find the friends of India taking so lively an interest in the welfare of its native inhabitants, as to institute and maintain a periodical work upon the spot, exclusively devoted to their benefit. The work indeed, to which we allude, professes in its very title to be the friend of India; and it is conducted by the missionaries of Serampore. It is a quarterly publication; and the object of it is first to inquire into the real condition, both moral, political, and religious, of the natives, especially of Bengal, and then to make known the result of that inquiry among those, who alone have the power to apply a healing hand to the moral disorders of the country.

From this periodical work the essays, which are lying before us, are selected. In the advertisement, prefixed to the volume, we are told, that

“They are now presented to the public of Britain, with the hope of

awakening such an interest in the subjects treated of, as may warrant the republication of the future numbers of that journal."

"And the encouragement, with which it has been favored, warrants a belief, that the investigation of subjects of this nature is in unison with the spirit of the present age." (P. 241.)

It embraces every part of their condition, and contains, among other items, proposals and an address by Dr. Carey, respecting an agricultural society in India.

The character of the Hindoos, as represented in this volume, as well indeed as in every authentic publication concerning them, is most deplorable. We need not of course say any thing on the effect of caste upon the native habits. But all the directions of the books, which they hold sacred, are of a nature to debase the mind and perplex and darken the conscience: for which cause the total absence of all that deserves the name of honour or morality, from the sentiments or practice of the people, is calculated to excite rather concern than surprise.

"There is, perhaps, no country on earth where morals are so completely relaxed, where those vices which degrade human nature and destroy the peace of society, are in such fatal operation as in India. That a man should employ every art of corruption to evade deserved punishment, is not matter of surprise; but in what country, where the sanctions of morality are held sacred, does a plaintiff think of employing corruption in a *just* cause? Yet such is daily the case in India. No man ever dreams of standing on the high ground of his own innocence; and we will venture to affirm that scarcely a cause is ever decided in which the officers of justice do not receive bribes from *both* parties." (P. 319.)

"False witnesses may be obtained in every place, on the slightest notice and for a mere trifle. Their price varies in different zillahs: in some sixteen may be had for a rupee, in others ten, but four annas each is what no true son of the trade was ever known to refuse in the interior; and at this rate any number may be collected to testify to facts they never witnessed." (P. 316, 317.)

"Lord Teignmouth observed many years ago, that among a thousand native officers he had only met with one in whom he could repose confidence. No native ever undertakes a public office with the intention of confining himself to his stated salary; his leading motive is the hope of amassing wealth by the abuse of his power. Should any be startled at this sweeping declaration, we would beg leave to say, that after a residence of more than twenty years in the country, after repeated conversations with natives of every degree, and with European gentlemen in every variety of situation, we have never been able to hear of a native officer whom power had not contaminated. We do not mean to aver that there is no species of honesty in the country. The man whose conscience is dormant when touching a

large bribe, would scorn to pilfer his superior merely of a rupee. A regard for his own dignity would restrain him from so ignominious a theft; but respecting official corruption and extortion he has no scruple. It involves no loss of reputation, and no disgrace in the opinion of his countrymen; these exactions, on the contrary, are considered as the legal perquisites of office, and constitute the grand allurements of the public service. In England, public indignation would pursue the man who had fattened in the soil of corruption. In India, no such sentiments are ever awakened in the native mind; a fortune created by bribery is rather a subject for applause and admiration. It invigorates the hope of the aspirant for office, and redoubles his attempts to enter on this lucrative trade." (P. 307.)

"The Hindoo never opens his mind to the conviction that one bold assertion of his rights, one public exposition of the injuries he suffers, would arrest the progress of extortion, and liberate him and his neighbours from that endless series of oppression which lies before him for the future. Such reasoning would be lost on him; his first emotion is that of averting *present* danger. Instead therefore of carrying his complaint to the seat of justice, where redress may be obtained for present wrongs and security against future evils, he prefers the expeditious palliative of a bribe, and submits without hesitation to injuries which in England would rouse the spirit of the lowest peasant." (P. 314.)

The same disposition to trick and manœuvre pervades all ranks of society and every part of behaviour.

"For one man who earns a subsistence, there are perhaps two who live without work; and the industry of one third of the country has to support the indolence of the remaining two thirds." (P. 132.)

"A man who is without employ, lives on his friend for six or eight months without the least scruple. While he can obtain the simple necessities of life without labour, he is not anxious to exert himself in his own behalf: with persons of this description the country is burdened. The board of the industrious is also surrounded with a numerous company of relatives, whom the prevailing custom of the country constrains him to support. There is scarcely a married man in the country, who has not some of his own or his wife's kindred, dependent on his bounty. These he cannot shake off; and they will seldom drop off themselves, but will continue to draw nourishment from his labour, while a single meal of rice remains in the house." (Pp. 130, 131.)

"Nothing can exceed the disgrace which a Hindoo attaches to the slightest violation of the rules of hospitality; and the privations and embarrassments to which he submits, in order to shun odium on this subject, would astonish the inhabitants of Europe. To be represented in his own village as one who has denied a refuge to strangers, would fix on him an indelible stigma. Under the impulse of this feeling, he submits to every inconvenience with cheerful resignation, and though encumbered with debts, never permits his guest to entertain the

slightest idea of the embarrassment which his arrival occasions. The constant influx of these guests is very great, and constitutes one of the heaviest taxes on the labour of the industrious. On their arrival, the master of the house transforms himself into a servant, lays before them the richest provisions his store will allow, and, when he has no money in the house, borrows on the spur of the occasion, at a rate of interest highly disadvantageous. But this is not all;—the custom of the country constrains him to offer them a sum of money at their departure, for the prosecution of their journey; and though, perhaps, already overwhelmed with debt, he is obliged to submit to fresh difficulties with every appearance of cheerfulness." (P. 129, 130.)

"Who would imagine on beholding the wretched hut of the Hindoo, which hardly excludes the elements of heaven, and into which are crowded, in this burning climate, the young and the old, and their every article of furniture, that its miserable inmates are constrained perhaps for years to pay thirty-six per cent for every farthing they borrow? Even when health smiles on them, their existence cannot but be miserable; but when overtaken with disease, or oppressed with unforeseen calamity, then it is that they may be said to drink deep of the cup of human woe. The inexorable money-lender, whom they cannot avoid, enforces his claim, heaping interest on interest." (P. 133.)

"To obtain money, a native will pledge every thing he possesses. When in circumstances of ease, he lays in a provision of gold and silver jewels, which serve to adorn his family in prosperity, and to propitiate the usurer on the approach of adversity. These are generally the first articles, through which he contracts a friendship with his banker, and it is frequently with a view to the probable reverse of his fortunes, that he provides himself with these articles in the hour of plenty. Every other article of value follows the jewels in due process of time, till nothing is left of his household wealth, but the brassen dishes of his humble board. With these he dispenses last of all: and a native is considered in circumstances rather desperate, when he is obliged to substitute a plantain leaf for his brass plate." (Pp. 126, 127.)

"The man, who can contrive to exist on borrowing for twenty years at an exorbitant rate of interest, might by one vigorous effort deliver himself from embarrassment, and open a prospect of comfort to his family for the remainder of life. This reasoning is lost on a Hindoo; while he admits its truth, he wants vigour of mind to put it in practice. Debt is to him a complete circle, from which there is no egress, after he has once ventured within its enclosure. A Hindoo is no sooner free from one debt than he contracts another; and generally incurs a second debt long before he is liberated from the first. He stretches his credit to its utmost limit, and is frequently under obligations in ten places at once. There is reason to believe that nearly three fourths of the inhabitants in Bengal are indebted to the remaining fourth." (P. 126.)

"The great bulk of farmers work upon a borrowed capital, and

consider themselves happy if they can glean a scanty subsistence from the product of their luxuriant soil." (P. 136.)

"The ploughman borrows corn for the support of his family during the season, till his own crop be ripe, when he repays his debt in kind, at fifty per cent. advance." (P. 135.)

"The next year will bring a fresh array of wants, and present again the view of his starving family, which will render it unwise to break with his rich friend; a species of obligation of which the one never forgets the advantages, nor can the other the oppression. The corn is therefore lent out at a high price, and repaid at a lower rate, partly because the price falls on the gathering of the harvest, and partly because the lender takes it on his own terms. In the weight there is as little equity as in the price, so that, turn whichever way he will, the husbandman is the loser." (P. 135.)

"The crop, on which they labor, will not go to enrich their families, but that of the usurer, who beholds the growth of the corn with feelings of anticipated enjoyment." (P. 136.)

"The man who borrows in India has no prospect of being able to repay his debt at the stipulated period; in general he never intends it, but leaves the matter to chance, or to the more powerful operation of chicane and falsehood. When the time for payment arrives, there is no expedient too disgraceful, no subterfuge or deceit too infamous for him to practise, in order to evade his creditor. If the moment of payment can be postponed, he retires in triumph, without casting a single glance of regret at the inglorious price for which this relaxation has been purchased. How can morality, of which truth is the basis, flourish in such a soil?" (P. 137.)

Every thing in the civil and religious institutions of the Hindoos, tends to aid rather than to counteract these mischiefs. Thus the conquest of their country by the Mahometans introduced the Persian language into their courts of judicature, which was the language of their conquerors; and that language still continues to be used there, although it is the language neither of the governors, nor of the governed. Besides this, one half of the population is excluded by mere sex from all cultivation of mind, and is regarded so much in the light of an appendage to the males, that they are nearly compelled, by the self-interest of their brahmuns, and even of their own relatives, to share the funeral pile with their deceased husbands. On all these particulars, we must make some extracts from the work before us, which gives a nearer insight into the real state of things, than any work which has yet been published in England.

Still there are, in the present state of India, some redeeming considerations, which encourage hope, and indicate a present revival. A native press has been established in India; an event, which, as it will prove in all probability an

era in the history of that country, we have placed as the prominent subject and title of this article. The works indeed, which have hitherto issued from that press, are, in the main, calculated rather to expose the nakedness of the land, than to cultivate it with a better seed. But yet it is something, nay, it is a very considerable advance, to have the deformity of Hindooism exposed by Hindoos themselves; and to see a Hindoo pamphlet, directed with skill and effect against the system of idolatry and the immolation of widows, is more than the warmest friend of the best interests of India could expect. This subject, however, is too interesting to be passed over without extracting some part of the information, conveyed concerning it in these valuable essays. The work in question (we are told), though nothing more is known of the author than his name,

“ bears internal marks of being purely native, and evidently owes its origin to that flood of light which has been shed abroad in the country within the last few years, although the whole current of reasoning strongly indicates, that the writer has scarcely a distant acquaintance with the doctrines of Christianity, of which in the present instance he might have made a powerful application. The arguments, with which he combats the present Hindoo system, however, taken in connexion with the facts and circumstances, by which he supports them, are of so peculiar a stamp, that while many of them are such as a Christian *would* not have used, there is, perhaps, no European in India who *could* have thought of them all, even after a residence of thirty years. Whether the cogency of the author's reasoning be considered, or his extensive acquaintance with the popular worship of the Hindoos, and the original authorities for the dogmas of their faith, it will, we imagine, be esteemed an interesting publication; but in the whole of the work there is, perhaps, nothing more cheering than his frequent appeals to reason. It is long before mankind bring the errors of their ancestors to the test of reason; but when they can once be brought to submit them to this test, to which respecting idolatry the divine penmen themselves appeal, we may consider the work of amelioration as fairly begun.” (Pp. 185, 186.)

“ So intimate a knowledge of the recondite rites and mysteries of Hindooism can scarcely ever be acquired in an equal degree by a foreigner, however extensive his acquaintance with the popular manners. After residing twenty years in the bosom of the people, with the most anxious spirit of inquiry, there are innumerable circumstances connected with their worship, their habits, their feelings, which will elude his observation. Yet how important a knowledge of these is to a due exposure of the errors of the Hindoo system !” (P. 235.)

We shall now make some quotations from the work itself, a few indeed, but such as will fully authenticate the praise, which has been bestowed upon it.

“ The doctrine which the author here combats, is universally cur-

rent among the Hindoos. They believe, that, while the carpenter is fashioning it, the image is indeed a block of wood, but that as soon as the brahman, whose office it is, repeats certain formulas, inviting the deity to enter it, the image ceases to be wood; the divinity has now made it his residence, and all its former qualities have at once disappeared. This our author terms the act of invocation." (Pp. 190, 191.)

It is not without reason, that the Abbé Dubois contends for the superior resemblance of Roman Catholic tenets to those of Hindooism, above those, which are held by Protestants. For our own part we must acknowledge, that we have not been able to discover any essential difference between the above doctrine and that of transubstantiation; and it appears to us, that the following arguments of the learned Hindoo, *mutatis mutandis*, are equally applicable to both.

"If you say you possess evidence, that after inviting the deity to reside in the idol, the deity does actually enter it, hence this evidence ought not to be despised; we reply, that you and we enjoy the same means of ascertaining this fact. After the idol has been endowed with divinity, does it not retain precisely the same qualities of earth, or wood, or stone, which it possessed before? Flies and mosquitoes annoy it from head to foot, before it receives the divine spirit, and continue to do so after that event. Before the deity's entrance it would have been broken in pieces, had it fallen on the ground; and the same fate would attend it after that event. It has not the power of eating, or sleeping, or of locomotion either before or afterwards. How then can we affirm, that the deity has entered it? You are accustomed from your infancy, in conformity with popular opinion, to say, that the image smiles, and at other times appears melancholy. It is astonishing, that, though you and we can equally perceive evidence on other matters, we cannot agree to believe, that the image ever smiles." (P. 191.)

"Should you urge, that many, who have petitioned the image, have obtained their desires, and that many, who have despised celebrated images, have been visited with the severest afflictions; we reply, that though many who have prayed to the image have been successful in their pursuits, yet many have been equally successful who never petitioned an image. Our success or failure depends upon the will of the Almighty. Success, moreover, can never be separated from endeavours; which excludes the interposition of the images. We daily see, into what a state of anxiety the worshippers of images are plunged, lest its hands or feet should at any time break. Now, if they were convinced, that the divinity had actually entered the idol, its worshippers would not be so incessantly anxious on this account. If images of great celebrity had power to destroy those who injured them,—if the idol punished the rats who undermine it, or the cockroaches who destroy its colour, or if it drove off and punished the flies, who, after wading through slime and filth, walk over it, we should be the first to believe in its divinity." (P. 192.)

"If in one place the shastras say, that the image when endowed with divinity is deprived of its material qualities, and in another, that it possesses no divinity at all, we are to inquire which of these opinions appears most reasonable; and this may be speedily decided by ascertaining whether or not the stone possesses any of the attributes of deity. If by the act of invocation its qualities of earth or stone have disappeared, and it be endowed with the divine perfections, it certainly possesses divinity; but if the image may be broken by the hand, or consumed in the fire, those shastras which deny it any thing of divinity, are sound and canonical." (P. 189.)

"The writer next advances an argument, which militates in the strongest manner against the antiquity of the present Pouranic system of idolatry,—that the ancient sages bore no names formed from those of the Hindoo gods now worshipped, while there is now scarcely a name given to a child which has not a reference to some one of these gods. This complete alteration of names throughout this vast empire, may suggest a hint, which, if duly pursued, may lead to a knowledge of the period when the system of idol-worship was introduced." (P. 198.)

"One goddess has been created within these four years; she is indebted for her origin to the prevalence of the cholera morbus." (P. 200.)

"With the view of their obtaining Gunga,* you at midnight, in the month of January, dip your aged and afflicted parents in the river, and thereby murder them. The weather is then so cold and the wind so bleak, that were you to submerge a healthful youth in the river, his death would be no matter of surprise. Promising heaven to your elder or younger sister, to your mother, or grandmother, or daughter, or friend, you bind them down with ropes or bamboos, and burn them on the funeral pile. When we witness the perpetration of these murders, does not nature itself move us to forbid them?" (P. 206.)

"If you say, 'The Christians worship the deity, without forming images, and your system resembles theirs; we are Hindoos, we therefore naturally worship the deity through an image;' we reply, that there are two kinds of Christians; the English and others who never admit images into their churches, and the Feringhees who exceed them in numbers, and whose churches are crowded with images. If then, by forsaking idols, we assimilate our system to that of the English Christians, you must acknowledge that by your worshipping images, your system resembles that of the Feringhee Christians." (P. 207.)

"If you say, that you do not worship the gods as the Supreme Being, but as enabling you to approach the deity, just as we conciliate the porter when we wish to approach a king; we reply, that those who conciliate the porter for an introduction to a king, do not consider the porter as the king himself; yet you act thus; since you consider those whom you worship as God himself." (P. 221.)

* "Obtaining Gunga," a phrase used by the natives to express a man's obtaining those benefits in a future state which they imagine Gunga can bestow.

"To consider mud and sandal wood, a drinking vessel and a mat, as the same, and earth and stones as the deity, belongs to foolish idolaters, not to wise men. Yet a wise man will consider both mud and Sandal wood, and all beings, from *Brahma* to the reptile, as equally the work of the great Creator, and, acknowledging them as subject to him, will subscribe to the omnipresence of the deity." (Pp. 229, 230.)

"We cannot agree in opinion with you, since that which you esteem holiness, and those actions which you introduce into worship, we esteem unholy." (P. 233.)

"Some of you consider the drinking of wine, and the extinction of life, and the shedding of blood, as conducive to salvation;—we do not. To burn defenceless women, to murder an aged father and mother by immersing them in water, you esteem holy;—we esteem these deeds unholy." (P. 233.)

After citing many such specimens of powerful and unshrinking argumentation as these, the translator pertinently asks—

"What benevolent mind, perceiving the diligence, with which our author has brought forward in this controversy every particle of truth he could glean from his own books, would deny him that light, that superior knowledge, which might enable him to detect and renounce the errors of the *Vedas* themselves? These are our natural allies in the propagation of truth; and we cannot stand acquitted of folly, if we deny them those advantages which would render their aid completely efficient." (P. 236.)

The other two works, from which extracts are given, are not equally interesting, or treated with the same ability. One of them, detailing the laws on ceremonial impurity,

"Like most Hindoo productions, is composed in metrical stanzas. It occupies one hundred and forty pages, of which the first fifty are in the Bengalee language, and contain a summary of the law on this subject, together with a short treatise on penance; the Appendix consists of authorities from the original *Sanskrita* works. It has the benefit of an index, an improvement which has originated in an imitation of our books, and which we hope will never be omitted in any future native publication. The first eight pages of the book may be considered as the introduction. Dedications are as yet unknown among Hindoo editors, except to the gods; as were title-pages before our arrival." (Pp. 243, 244.)

The remaining publication prescribes the domestic duties of Hindoos. We give only a specimen.

"He, who in sacrifices, when bestowing gifts, at the funeral ceremony, the morning and evening devotions, when meditating, or offering water to deceased ancestors, does not make a mark from the tip of his nose to the top of his forehead, loses all the fruit of those actions. If any one makes obeisance, or gives a benediction, when carrying the sacrificial flowers, or a water-pot, when bathing, or in

the water, or when anointing his body with oil, both he who receives and he who returns the salutation, will receive eternal punishment." (P. 334.)

In respect to the character of modern Hindoo literature, after furnishing a list of near thirty works which have issued from the press, the essayists justly observe,

"We shall be inclined to rate the present taste of the Hindoos very low. It is indeed low; and, if we attend only to the works which the press is at present employed in multiplying, we shall discover but a slender prospect of improvement. Many will say, and with some appearance of reason, that the increase of the legendary tales mentioned in the list, will tend only to strengthen immorality. There are, however, circumstances both in the state of India and in the early history of printing, which may mitigate the gloom of these reflections. We ought not to forget that the great body of the people, have had nothing to feed on for ages, but the tales of lewd gods and goddesses. The absence of all foreign importation of genuine science,—the intimate connexion of these fictions with all that a Hindoo holds sacred in this world, and inviting in the next,—their peculiar adaptation to the indolence and luxury of Eastern imaginations—all these circumstances have combined to naturalize this vicious taste, and to throw a charm around these tinsel productions which it is not easy at once to dissolve. Generation after generation has grown up with a fond attachment to them, till they have been interwoven, in a great measure, into the habits of the people. It was not to be expected then, that a taste for them should disappear on the immediate rise of a native press; the inveterate impression of ages was not to be removed in a day; and though they contain no principle of perpetuity, time must be allowed for the attraction to be broken, and for the taste to be glutted with satiety, before we can expect much amelioration. The productions of the press, on its introduction into Europe, may confirm this idea. It was at first employed in multiplying copies of the old and favorite romances of Amadis of Gaul, Palmerin of England, Tirante the White, and other tales equally favorable to morals." (Pp. 147, 148.)

"This is the mere dawn of light in the East, but it is a pledge of the most animating nature; and if these exertions be followed up with the same spirit with which they have been commenced, the task of those who study the welfare of India will be greatly facilitated, and little will be required of them besides giving a steady and propitious direction to the mighty engine which has been already put in motion." (P. 149.)

"The first Hindoo who established a press in Calcutta, was Baboo-ram, a native of Hindoosthan. He was most liberally patronized by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. and under his auspices brought through the press various editions of the *Sungskritā* classics, which have proved of the highest advantage to those who cultivate that ancient tongue. He is said to have accumulated a fortune of four lacs of rupees, with which he has retired to Benares; but we shall pro-

bably be nearer the truth if we reduce this sum three-fourths, a general criterion for ascertaining the intrinsic value of native reports of this nature. He was followed by Gunga-Kishore, formerly employed in the Serampore press, who appears to have been the first who conceived the idea of printing works in the current language as a means of acquiring wealth. To ascertain the pulse of the Hindoo public, he printed several works at the press of an European, for which having obtained a ready sale, he established an office of his own, and opened a book-shop. For more than six years, he continued to print in Calcutta various works in the Bengalee language; but, having disagreed with his coadjutor, he has now removed his press to his native village. He appointed agents in the chief towns and villages in Bengal, from whom his books were purchased with great avidity; and within a fortnight after the publication from the Serampore press of the *Somachar Durpun*, the first Native Weekly Journal printed in India, he published another, which has since, we hear, failed. The success which followed his literary speculations, and the wealth he has acquired, have induced others to embark in the same scheme; and there are now no less than four presses in constant employ, conducted by natives, and supported by the native population. This multiplication of printed works has excited a taste for reading, hitherto unknown in India, which promises to become gradually more extensive and more refined." (Pp. 143, 144.)

We now come, in conclusion, to the great practical question, what more can be done by this country towards improving the state of our Hindoo fellow-subjects.

In reply to this question, the first counsel which we should venture, in concurrence with the editors of the *Friend in India*, to offer, is extremely simple and easy. Let every encouragement be given to free inquiry! While Hindoos are to be found, ready to investigate the defects of their own system, they may be fairly left to themselves, without the encumbrance of foreign aid, under the assured conviction, that idolatry, superstition, and priestcraft, will shrink under the rudeness of their assault.

While we are penning this recommendation, advices have arrived of some recent restrictions, imposed upon the freedom of the press in India. They are not indeed levelled at the native press: nor are they designed expressly to subject general literature or mercantile discussion to any supervision or control; and we are happy to perceive that the revival of the censorship forms no part of the new regulations.

Nevertheless, when we find that the whole printing establishment of India is placed under a system of licence, that the penalties for transgressing the new limitations are not only fine and imprisonment, but a confiscation of presses and types, and a resumption of the licence, which of course amounts to a destruction of property,—that the governor general in

council reserves to himself the full power not only of refusing, but of revoking any licence, whenever he may see fit to do so, that he may prohibit the circulation of any paper summarily and without notice or process, and that all pecuniary forfeitures and penalties may be levied by the magistrate or joint magistrates of the jurisdiction, in which the offence was committed, without any trial by jury or open conviction, it is obvious, that the existence, and occasional, however rare, exercise of such a power, must have effects far beyond those, which are apparently contemplated by the framers of these provisions, that they must have a powerful tendency to depress the literature of India, to restrain inquiry, and to deter men of talent and character from embarking their property in so very perilous an adventure. One person, who was editor of the Calcutta Journal, was transmitted to this country by the authority of government, half a year before these new regulations were published : and whatever delinquencies on the one side, or reasons of state on the other may have warranted such a measure, the effect of it even in one instance must be to paralyse to a certain extent the spirit of literary exertion. The conviction of his successors, who have since been prosecuted for a libel, took place in open court : and we shall rejoice, if such convictions shall be found adequate to the legitimate ends of good government, without resorting to those arbitrary powers, which, even if they were otherwise free from objection, require more prudence, discretion, and moderation in public functionaries, with a view to prevent abuse, than can be safely calculated on in any prospective provision.

It is not therefore to the prohibitions themselves, but to the summary method by which they are henceforward to be enforced, that our observations apply. We question the expediency of resting such powers in any individual, notwithstanding the admitted necessity of putting down the hostile discussion of political questions in a distant colony, where almost every British subject is a civil or military servant of the state, and the local reasons which may be pleaded for the possession and exercise of an irresponsible authority, while the whole community of English is small, and the duty of preserving peace among its members overbalances every other consideration.

However, into this question, though affecting nearly the stability, dignity, and character of our Indian empire, we refrain from entering. Our present business is with the Hindoo press : and with respect to that, whatever may be the fetters, to which it may be thought necessary to subject European publishers, the considerations, which we now proceed to sub-

join, would sufficiently expose the mischief, should such an intention ever be entertained, of too narrowly watching the eccentricities of the native mind in its early literary efforts, which can only display themselves with advantage, like bodies, disposed to crystallize, in free space. Our essayists observe, concerning the pamphlet, which has been already described, that

“The publication of this work enables us to perceive the advantages, which may result from free discussion, conducted by private individuals among the natives, as well as the complete safety which attends it. It may be within the recollection of some of our readers, that about twelve years ago an unfounded suspicion of danger from attempts to enlighten India found its way into the minds of some persons in England, and that certain pamphlets in the Bengalee language were translated into our tongue, to demonstrate how closely their circulation was connected with the instability of our eastern possessions. Time has now refuted those suspicions, and alarm has now subsided ; It is, however, a happy circumstance, that the present publication has appeared so late : for, had it been sent into circulation at that season, we cannot say that it would not have contributed to invigorate suspicion, and excite greater alarm. That such prognostics of danger would have been unfounded, however, will appear from the fact that this publication, containing so close an examination of the doctrines and practices of polytheism, interspersed with incontestably more poignant ridicule, more keenness of satire, than was to be found in all the works, which twelve years ago excited such alarm, has now been in circulation more than eight months, and been read by the main supporters of the system it attempts to invalidate, without exciting the most distant suspicion, that idolatry is to be chased from India by the arm of coercion. But on what principle has it proved so innoxious ? Because it bears not the stamp of public authority ; because every man, who reads it, will instantly recognise it, as the work of a private individual ; because the writer has not been raised from a cottage to a palace, decorated with honours, or loaded with wealth ; because not one ray of favour has visited his humble dwelling, from those, who have the power of dispensing riches and honour. Had it appeared with any single appendage which could have identified it with government,—were the author, or his opponent who should furnish the best reply, to be raised in consequence to some office of profit and honour, the case would be altered ; and many who have never read it, might feel an involuntary alarm for the continuance of those rites, which it is in human nature to surrender to reason, never to authority. But the wise moderation of the ruling power on this subject has spread unbounded confidence among all the classes of the natives, and relieved them from all anxiety. Nothing can be more harmless than free discussion among the natives themselves, while it stands on its own basis, and leans not for support on the ruling authority.” (Pp. 237, 238.)

“The Hindoos have been discussing the doctrines of their own faith for twenty centuries ; for twenty centuries have the superior minds

of the East bent their earnest inquiries to this subject : on this field have they reaped all their laurels : and in the ardour of these speculations, they have left the history and geography of India to find its own way to posterity. Is it conceivable, then, that under the mild and benign sway of Britain, when religious discussion has been separated from every political consideration, more danger will attend it than under the intolerant sway of our immediate predecessors, or the bigoted government of the ancient Hindoo sovereigns ? If it be necessary, however, that works of this description should challenge assent on their own intrinsic merits, receiving neither the support nor the discountenance of the supreme authority, this can only be secured by the perfect freedom of the native press. Had the present work been submitted to a previous revision, it must either have been suppressed, or have gone forth with the sanction of government. Had it been suppressed, there would have been an end to free inquiry. But while the liberality of our countrymen removes every apprehension of this nature, scarcely any European gentleman, with the most perfect command of the language, while encumbered with other duties, could have found leisure to peruse and weigh all the arguments of this production, which he must have done previously to granting it his sanction. It must in that case have been delivered over to some native assistant, who, unless he possessed a liberality of sentiment as yet scarcely to be expected, would have made an unfavorable representation of the contents ; and this work might never have seen the light. But if, on the contrary, it had received the *imprimatur* of government, it must have gone forth as containing the approved sentiments of the supreme authority. The natives of the East have been accustomed to consider the wish of government as law : and we should then have had to combat the idea, that the civil power felt an interest either in the preservation or the suppression of idolatry ; an idea, which, by taking the subject out of the sphere of free discussion, would inevitably be detrimental to the progress of truth." (Pp. 239, 240.)

"Let examination thus begin among the natives themselves ! Let every part of the Hindoo system, and every practice it is supposed to countenance, be thus brought to the test of reason ! From this course truth has nothing to fear." (P. 66.)

"Native works have been printed by natives themselves, and sold among the Hindoo population with astonishing rapidity. An unprecedented impulse has been communicated to the inhabitants of Bengal, and the avidity for reading has increased beyond all former example. Before this period, the press had been confined to Europeans, and the only works in the native languages were printed at their expense, and circulated gratis. The natives have now taken the work into their own hands, and the commencement is commensurate with the avarice of native editors, and the rich fund of wealth enjoyed by the higher class of Hindoos." (Pp. 142, 143.)

"Many of these works have been accompanied with plates, which add an amazing value to them in the opinion of the majority of native readers and purchasers." (P. 146.)

"The only avenue from whence opposition might have been dreaded,

was from the irritation excited in the minds of the guardians of the Hindoo religion, on discovering the departure of their influence. This, however, is so far from being the case, that brahmuns have had the greatest hand in erecting the native press, and bringing it into operation." (Pp. 155.)

"The rapid circulation of ideas will within a few years bring all the inconsistencies of these sacred books under a course of rigid examination. Their mutual discrepancies will then create suspicion: the geographical and astronomical absurdities, a belief in which they enforce with as awful a sanction as a belief in the being of the gods, will strengthen these suspicions. Through these weak points the hostility of public opinion will probably enter first; and, as the whole citadel is built with materials equally frail, there is every reason to expect its eventual demolition. The Hindoo system of belief cannot stand, when separated into parts, of which some may be credited, and others rejected. It must stand as a whole, or fall as a whole. It is public opinion which now gives it weight and currency; but public opinion is not stationary, and it may be turned into an opposite channel. It is from the difference of public opinion occasioned by the presence of superior knowledge, that those dogmas are ridiculed in England, which are believed in India as truths of holy writ; and public opinion in India is susceptible of as great changes as in any other part of the world. Though the present age may bring much prejudice to that examination of Hindooism which the press will necessarily induce, and though the Hindoos of the present day may sit down for a season in quiet acquiescence with the decision and practice of their forefathers, every succeeding age, as the progress of knowledge is accelerated, will be farther and farther removed from these hereditary prejudices; the articles of belief will be gradually compared with a higher scale of attainments, till it will be found eventually that public opinion and general knowledge have advanced a full century beyond the acknowledged articles of the Hindoo faith. When society has arrived at this stage of refinement, it requires little penetration to see that these books of sacred literature will drop into contempt and disuse." (Pp. 156, 157.)

"The press has a natural tendency to multiply its productions; when it has not been violently restrained by public authority, it has gradually done this in every country. If we need an example to substantiate the position, it is afforded by our own country. We had the press a hundred years before we possessed a newspaper; and a newspaper nearly a hundred and fifty years before we had a magazine. The circulation of books in the reign of Charles the First was but limited and scanty, compared with the present demand for them; and there are many now living who may remember, that within the last fifty years, the number of books printed and sold has at least been doubled. The increase of population in England, however, will not fully account for this increase, as the number of works has increased in a much greater proportion. The fact is, that the *reading* population has increased;—it has been on the increase ever since the first printing-office was set up in Europe, and it will increase in every country into which a press is introduced. Compared with the present diffusion of

works in England, we acknowledge that our Indian one per cent. is but a drop to the ocean. But this is not a fair criterion; we should compare the progress made in this country with the progress made in England in the days of Edward the Fourth, within twenty years after Caxton set the first types in England. We must compare the present circulation of works, the present number of readers in India, with the state of things twenty years ago. We shall then find that the commencement which has been made is highly promising, and that if works in India multiply in the same proportion in which they have multiplied in other countries, there is a certain prospect of a speedy and sensible amelioration of its inhabitants." (Pp. 161, 162.)

The second step, which seems advisable for the welfare of India, is of a more substantive character. But it seems too obvious to require much discussion, that the administration of justice to the natives in their own language must have a powerful and immediate tendency to their substantial benefit and improvement. Yet we cannot refrain from copying the following able remarks from the essays:

"When William constrained his English subjects to conduct all judicial proceedings in his own tongue, he at the same time took measures to secure its being taught throughout the kingdom. Some historians say that he instituted schools for this purpose throughout England; but all agree that he ordered it to be taught in those which then existed. His object evidently was to make it the current language of the kingdom; and the failure of this scheme with all the advantages for carrying it into execution, which arose from its being for above two centuries the language of the court, of all public transactions, of judicial proceedings, of nearly all the landed proprietors and a great part of the common people, sufficiently evinces the futility of any attempt to change the language spoken by the great bulk of a people." (P. 270.)

"If it was said of the Romans after they had conquered Greece, that the introduction of its language and literature made Rome almost appear the conquered country, our retaining in all judicial proceedings the language, introduced into them by the Mussulman dynasty, must suggest nearly the same idea to the minds of the poor Hindoos. While their real conquerors are only known to them by their solid weight of character, and the restraint they quietly exercise over their former oppressors, the judicial language and legal apparatus of the Mussulman dynasty still fill the eye of the Hindoo, and still give to the Mahometans and their religion a degree of factitious importance, of which both would have been stripped long ago, had our language in all judicial and public acts been substituted for theirs." (Pp. 279, 280.)

"With the exception of those employed in the native courts, Persian is as much a foreign language to the people of India as it was a century ago." (P. 285.)

"The conducting of judicial proceedings in the common language would exceedingly increase the esteem of the natives for those gentlemen who preside in the Native Courts throughout India." (P. 292.)

"This would tend to improve and enlighten the country in a superior degree. Of every advance of this nature the common language must be the medium; but how this can be when it is cultivated neither in the services of religion, at the bar, nor in the public business of government, it is difficult to say. Yet this at present is the case with the Bengalee language in particular. In their religious services the brahmans affect to despise it, although the greater part of them are quite unable to understand the Sungskrita sentences they daily repeat in their religious formulas; and when it is excluded also from the courts of justice, what inducement can there be to cultivate it? Yet it begins to be cultivated notwithstanding every disadvantage, and the native press is daily becoming more and more interesting. But what an impulse would be given to its cultivation were it made the language of all the native courts in Bengal, may be inferred from the cultivation given the English language since it has been made the only vehicle for the administration of justice. Let it only be known, that instead of Persian, a thorough and classic knowledge of Bengalee is the indispensable qualification for every judicial situation in the native courts throughout Bengal, and that learning and probity alone will prevail, whether found in a Hindoo, a Mahometan, or a Christian, and anew scene will instantly appear." (P. 295.)

In the third place, we can discern no remaining reason why the immolation of widows should not at once be prohibited, under the penalties of murder. This subject is most fully and minutely discussed in the work before us; and the practice is shewn to be as contrary to the spirit of their own vedas, as it is to the interests of morality and religion. The voluntary character of these sacrifices is disproved by many considerations.

"A man of the writer cast, at Kona-nugura, about four miles south of Serampore, between twenty and thirty years of age, died in December last, leaving two wives, one about thirteen years of age, and the other about sixteen. Both of these, in the usual manner, expressed their wish to burn themselves with their deceased husband. The eldest of them, being pregnant, however, was advised to delay till after her confinement, and then to burn herself with something belonging to her husband. The youngest, not being prevented, was burned with the corpse of her husband. The eldest solemnly engaged to burn herself a month after her confinement; till which period she was taken home by her own parents. She at first expressed such displeasure at being thus denied the opportunity of burning herself, as to beat herself severely, and possibly accelerate the time of her confinement; but at the expiration of the month after that period, when called upon to fulfil her engagement, she had considered the subject more at leisure, and, being at home in the house of her own parents, she positively refused to destroy herself; nor could all the appeals made to her feelings, all the threats and reproaches poured upon her, alter her resolution in the least degree. She was in the house of her own parents, and completely independent of her husband's relatives; and, as every

thing which could be done was of course confined to verbal exertion, she determined to remain with her parents, where she continues till this day. As this instance is by no means a solitary one, we have little reason to conclude, that the desire to destroy themselves is more firmly fixed in the minds of multitudes besides, than it was in the mind of this young woman." (Pp. 23, 24.)

In proof of the illegality of the act we have the singular fact of a Hindoo pundit, publishing a work, to prove its opposition to the vedas.

"We intreat permission to subjoin a few extracts from a document in our possession, drawn up in Sungskrita about two years ago by Mrityoonjaya-Vidyalkura, the chief pundit successively in the College of Fort William and in the Supreme Court, at the request of the Chief Judge in the Snadder Dewanee Adawlut, who wished him to ascertain from a comparison of all the works, extant on the subject, the precise point of law, relative to burning widows, according to those, who recommend the practice. This document, as the Compiler of it from his own extensive learning and the assistance of his friends had an opportunity of consulting more works on the subject than almost any pundit in this presidency, may be regarded as possessing the highest legal authority according to the Hindoos. After having consulted nearly thirty works on the subject, current in Bengal, and the northern, western, and southern parts of Hindoosthan, among which are all those, quoted for the practice by the author of this pamphlet, he says, 'Having examined all these works and weighed their meaning, I thus reply to the questions I have been desired to answer.' He then states, that, Munoo having directed the following formula to be addressed to the bride by the priest at the time of marriage—'Be thou perpetually the companion of thy husband in life and in death!'—Hareeta, a later writer, says, that it is the inheritance of every woman, belonging to the four casts, not being pregnant or not having a little child, to burn herself with her husband. The Compiler afterwards quotes *Vishnoo-moonnee*, as speaking thus: 'Let the wife either embrace a life of abstinence and chastity, or mount the burning pile!'—but he forbids the latter to the unchaste. He then enumerates particularly the various rules laid down by him and others who have followed him on the same side of the question, relative to the time and circumstances in which a woman is permitted to burn herself, and in what cases she is even by them absolutely forbidden. These extracts shew, that binding the woman, and the other acts of additional cruelty which the author of this pamphlet justifies, are totally forbidden. The *Soodhee-koumoodee* as quoted by the Compiler says, 'Let the mother enter the fire after the son has kindled it around his father's corpse; but to the father's corpse and the mother let him not set fire; if the son set fire to the living mother, he has on him the guilt of murdering both a woman and a mother.' Thus the possibility of a woman's being bound to her husband's corpse is taken away. While the act is left perfectly optional, the son is not to be in the least degree accessory to the mother's death. If she burn herself at all, it must be by throwing herself into the flames,

already kindled. And the *Nirnuyasindhoo* forbids the use of any handage, bamboos, or wood by way of confining the woman on the funeral pile; nor, before she enter it, must the least persuasion be used, nor must she be placed on the fire by others. Thus the practice, as existing in Bengal and defended in this work, is deliberate murder even according to the legal authorities which recommend burning as optional." (Pp. 54—56.)

"In the *Shastras* appear many prohibitions of a woman's dying with her husband, but against a life of abstinence and chastity there is no prohibition. Against her burning herself the following authorities are found. In the *Meemangshadarsana* it is declared, that every kind of self-inflicted injury is sin. The *Sankhya* says, that a useless death is undoubtedly sinful. The killing for sacrifice commanded by the *Shastras* has a reasonable cause, and is yet sinful in a certain degree, because it destroys life. And while by the *Meemangsha*, either of the two may be chosen; by the *Sankhya*, a life of abstinence and chastity is alone esteemed lawful." (P. 57.)

"One grand principle of the Hindoo system is, that life must not be destroyed: hence their abstaining from animal food; and hence many have thought it sinful to destroy a noxious or a poisonous reptile." (P. 61.)

"The Hindoos maintain in all its strictness the doctrine of the metempsychosis, and believe that the human soul is a part of the Supreme Being, and that, while its desires are impure and corrupt, it can never be re-united to him and obtain final beatitude. Others among them, however, hold, that certain deeds, though done from the most unworthy motives, are in themselves so available as to merit a certain degree of recompence; never final beatitude indeed, but wealth, a son, long life, the destruction of enemies, or a certain temporary state of bliss in their *Swargas*, or heavens. In this class those rank, who contend for the burning of widows, as is sufficiently testified by one of the quotations, given in the pamphlet under consideration, which says, that, though a woman burn herself from "amours, anger, fear, or affection," she is still certain of obtaining heaven. But all these deeds the more learned treat with the greatest contempt, declaring them to be nothing more than vice in another shape, the indulgence of a corrupt mind. These writers, therefore, view a woman's burning herself as perfectly unlawful." (Pp. 61, 62.)

"If the number of Hindoos in India be computed at a hundred millions, (and few will estimate them lower,) the least number, who die annually, must in the common course of mortality be estimated at three millions; and as nearly every man is married, and in general to a woman far younger than himself, a million of widows annually is the very lowest number which we ought to reckon. Now, if only one out of a hundred of these be burned, this will exhibit ten thousand widows consigned to the flames every year. But were the whole million to be thus burnt alive, this country would yearly present such a Gehenna, such a sacrifice to Moloch, as the world has never beheld. A law, however, regularly disobeyed by ninety-

nine out of a hundred of those to whom it is given, and this without either punishment or blame, is totally unworthy the name. Such is not the case with the *laws* of the Hindoo system. By these widows are forbidden to marry again: and not one in a thousand ever marries again." (P. 63.)

"When it is considered, that this practice causes the death of a greater number of persons in one year, who, *if they ought not to be thus burnt alive*, involve the country in all the guilt of innocent blood, than are publicly executed for their crimes throughout the whole of India in the course of twenty years, it cannot be wrong to call to this momentous subject the attention of every friend to his country. How would Britain feel, if within herself a hundred innocent persons suffered death by some mistake of the law in the course of a year? How then ought she to feel, when, in only one province of her foreign dominions, nearly a thousand innocent widows are every year burnt to death!" Pp. 64, 65.)

The safety of prohibiting these murders is abundantly proved.

"Dr. Carey, through the Rev. Dr. Buchanan, submitted to Government three memorials on this subject. The first of these included the practice of exposing infants, which existed chiefly in the north of Bengal, and that of persons devoting themselves voluntarily to death at Saugur island, and in certain other places. The two last practices were abolished by an order of Government; but the burning of widows has been suffered to continue to the present day." (P. 32.)

"In the province of Guzerat the deluded parents had been for a long series of years in the habit of destroying their female infants as soon as they were born. Whether the custom was sanctioned by the shastras or not, is irrelevant; it is enough that it was deeply rooted in the practice and prejudices of the natives. These unnatural murders at length attracted the notice of Government, and they were publicly prohibited by an order from the supreme power. Did Government immediately lose the confidence and attachment of the natives? Did the enraged parent, unsheathing his sword, slaughter the rescued victim, and then turn it on those who had attempted its preservation? Not one symptom of disaffection has been manifested by the natives on this account. By many the practice is probably forgotten; and it would now appear in their eyes as horrible as it formerly appeared natural and indispensable. The infants have been suffered to grow up to maturity, and to engage the affections of their parents: and who will say, that the father breathes desolation and slaughter against those, who formerly saved them from destruction?

"Our second example is of the same nature; but, inasmuch as it indicates the feelings of a class of natives at the other extremity of the continent, it may in the opinion of some carry greater weight, as demonstrating that the same security accompanies every assertion of the principles of humanity throughout this vast empire. From time-immemorial it was the custom for mothers to sacrifice their

children to the Ganges at the annual festival, held at Gunga Saugor. The British Government regarded the practice with those feelings of horror, which such unnatural murders are calculated to inspire; and, as persuasion would have been unavailing with those, who had parted with every parental feeling, the practice was prohibited by a public decree, and the prohibition enforced by public authority. Let us not forget that this order was promulgated in the presence of thousands, assembled at a public festival, in the highest excitement of superstitious frenzy. What was the consequence? Not one instance of resistance was attempted by that immense crowd. The mischief vanished from the earth, and no one bewailed it. The mothers who had brought their children to this funeral sacrifice, were constrained to carry them back unhurt; and many perhaps to whom the heinousness of the crime had never yet appeared, were by this interposition awakened to a sense of its enormity." (Pp. 76, 77.)

"We have protected them in the exercise of their religion. We have permitted hundreds of temples to rise without inquiry. We have allowed them to squander millions of rupees annually to propitiate their gods. During the whole of our administration we have not violated one sanctuary, or mutilated one idol. Is it to be supposed then, that, while they continue to enjoy these, to them unprecedented, privileges, they will consider us as having abandoned the principles of toleration, when we prohibit the inhuman slaughter of defenceless women, and abrogate a practice, discountenanced by half the shastras, and condemned by the great body of the people?

"The chief support of this odious practice centres in Bengal; in the western provinces, peopled with a bold and hardy race, female immolation is exceedingly rare. We pass over the aid which this fact brings to the question of its abolition; for if the inhabitants of the West, the original recipients of the Hindoo faith, have never considered the rite of vital importance, to abolish it will not be to depart from the spirit of the Hindoo religion; and if they did formerly consider it binding, and have since permitted it to drop into disuse, there can be no mischief in our discountenancing it elsewhere. We pass over these considerations, and beg to call the attention of the reader to this simple fact, that the natives of Bengal are under higher obligations to the British Government than those of any other province in India." (Pp. 83, 84.)

"*The British Government are the only defenders of Bengal from anarchy and plunder.* Its peaceful inhabitants have never been able to resist their more powerful neighbours of Hindoosthan; and, were our protection withdrawn from it for a single year, its fertile plains would be desolated, its inhabitants massacred, and the immense wealth accumulated under our government torn from it with unsparing rapacity. This is an argument which comes home to the feelings of every bosom, and in this case would be all-powerful. The remembrance of the successive Mahratta invasions of Bengal, is still transmitted from father to son; and, though the ravages, which were committed, have lost much of their atrocity by the lapse of time, the natives still shrink with instinctive terror from the prospect of similar invasions, in which,

on one occasion, thirty females, to escape violation and death, left their native village, and destroyed themselves in a neighbouring stream, on beholding the distant approach of the hostile cavalry. But we need not the aid of threatened vengeance to substantiate the abolition. The fears we entertain, if any are entertained, are entirely of our own creation. With what feelings of astonishment would a native receive the first intimation, that we apprehended public disquietude from such a measure! After having overcome his natural disbelief in the possibility of such a supposition, what a complete change must take place in his ideas, before he could compress the gigantic power of the British nation into a shape to be affected by a handful of his unwarlike countrymen!" (P. 85.)

Fourthly, it seems an object, eminently worthy of the benevolence of our fellow-countrymen, to use every effort for the sake of promoting among the natives some respect to the female sex, particularly in regard to their education. Females in the east, though not subjected to the same corporeal barbarities, are as truly chattels as slaves in the west.

"The female has little prospect of a suitable return for the kindest and most generous affection. Instances of solid union and unalloyed happiness are rare indeed. Where their mutual dispositions might render this probable, the haughty superiority of the men extinguishes that delicate sensibility, which must form an ingredient in every happy union.

"We will now follow the female into the family circle, where she is to spend the remainder of her days; in which the very first act is calculated to strike the imagination like the bolt of the first door on the unfortunate victim of the Inquisition. The elder members assemble to view her face for the first—and for the last time, till it has lost its mortal hue. The new-married female is conducted into the room, where she sits like a statue, with her face concealed beneath a veil, till it be lifted up by one of her own sex. She then closes her eyes, and stretches forth her hands to receive the presents of the elder male branches of the family, together with their benedictions. After this ceremony, she retires to her own apartment, and commences a life of seclusion and inanity. Though living under the same roof with her father-in-law and her husband's brethren, she is never permitted to converse with any of them for a moment; and if by any accident they happen to cross her path, she veils her countenance as if in the presence of a stranger. With the junior branches of the family she may converse while they remain children; but all intercourse ceases when they attain a mature age. Her father-in-law never mentions her name in the family, and inquires after her welfare only by stealth. There is no general family intercourse;—the two sexes are as effectually separated as they would be by stone walls. The life of social intercourse is absent in these comfortless abodes; there are no affectionate greetings in the morning, no tender valedictions at the close of the day. Their meals are partaken separately; the men and the women, each by themselves; with this difference, that the women wait on the men

during their repast, though with their cloth drawn over their faces. During these hours there is no notice taken of the females, who wait so assiduously on their lords, except when food or water is required. Even then they are never addressed in that affectionate language, which might soften the asperity of their employment, but in an indirect manner, with a simple notice, that more food is required, or that such an one is idle, or that it would be advantageous to replenish his dish. No intreaties can prevail on a woman among the higher classes to eat in the presence of her husband, even when alone with him." (Pp. 168—170.)

"From the early records of Hindoosthan there is strong reason to conclude, that in ancient times many of the odious peculiarities in the present system of educating and marrying females had no existence; that women, at least the daughters of kings and the wives of heroes, were taught to read; and that their own inclination, not that of their parents, influenced the selection of husbands. In the historical records of the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, and the *Pooranas*, we meet with no heroine in the disgraceful situation of modern females. They are generally represented as deeply skilled in learning, often willing to display their attainments, and not averse to a combat of skill with the other sex. Nay, in many cases, they injoin a literary victory over themselves, as the only price at which the suitor can expect success." (P. 180.)

To render second marriages respectable would do much towards abolishing the suicidal practice, which it seems our imperative duty to suppress; and to restore to the female her due influence in every family of India would be an incalculable blessing to millions yet unborn.

After all, however, the propagation of christianity is the only sovereign remedy for all the evils of our fallen nature. This will give to the female and to the shoodra their due rights, abolish infanticide, preserve the lives of numberless victims of superstition, and open to their view a sure and certain hope of resurrection to that better life, which is secure from the fear of evil. We are not, however, advocates for the violent introduction even of christianity. The establishment of a native press opens a medium, through which a gracious Providence may carry on his own work of mercy for India; and if the prudent labours of missionaries meet with no discouragement, we may soon hope to see the dawn of a brighter day, which will chase the mists of idolatry, superstition, and cruelty, with the silent, but irresistible progress of light. Even now,

"Time, commerce, and our superior civilization, are unitedly urging the Hindoo shastras and their observances into the gulf of oblivion. What havoc have not a few centuries made in the vast fabric, which so many gods, and sages, and hermits toiled to erect! Of the grammar, which *Shiva* composed for the benefit of mankind,

not a line exists in the country, which still owns his deity. The very language of the vedas is obsolete in Bengal. Thirty years ago not a copy of it existed in the lower provinces: and that office, for which Vishnow became incarnate, (the recovery of the vedas,) in the lapse of years has been performed by foreigners, the offals of creation. 'Bind the Vedas in calf-skin?' said a great Indian philologist, as he visited the College Library. 'What sacrilege!' Yet so it is; these sacred books, which prohibit the murder of the cow, have themselves been wrapped in the skin of many a sacred bull." (Pp. 341, 342.)

That, which is unsupported by Reason, easily gives way, when Reason asserts her empire. But Reason herself is weak, when not sustained by the sanctifying influence of Religion. May India receive this last boon from England! and it will then be indeed a blessing, and will be acknowledged as such in the annals of eternity, that the population of that benighted country was ever subjected to her sway.

ART. XIX.—THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

1. *A Charge, delivered in July, 1821, at Stokesley, Thirsk, and Mutton, to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Cleveland;* by the Ven. and Rev. Francis Wrangham, M. A. F. R. S. York, Todd; London, Baldwin and Rivingtons. 1821. 8vo. Pp. viii. and 21.
2. *A Letter to the Ven. and Rev. Francis Wrangham, M. A. F. R. S. Archdeacon of Cleveland, on the subject of his Charge, delivered to the Clergy at Thirsk on the 18th of July, 1821;* by Captain Thomas Thrush, R. N. *With an Appendix, containing a Letter from the Author to the Inhabitants of the Parish of Filiskirk; with a Preface and additional Notes. Also a Letter from a Lady on Subjects connected with the above Charge.* 1822. 8vo. Pp. 72 and 67. York. London, Hunter.
3. *The Athanasian Creed vindicated; with a prefatory Letter to the Archdeacon of Cleveland, and an Appendix on Archbishop Tillotson's presumed wish, that we were well rid of it;* by the Rev. James Richardson, M. A. of Queen's College, Oxford, Vicar of Huntington, one of the Vicars Choral of York Minster, and Curate of St. John's. 1822. 8vo. Pp. 138. York, Wolstenholme, and Todd; London, Baldwin and Co. Rivingtons, and Seeleys.
4. *Letters, addressed to the Rev. James Richardson, M. A. one of the Vicars Choral of York Minster, on his Vindication of the Athanasian Creed, and the primary Visitation Charge of*

Archdeacon Wrangham ; with a Supplementary Letter, addressed to the Rev. G. Stanley Faber, M. A. on his Sermon, preached before the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews ; by Capt. Thomas Thrush, R. N. 1823. 8vo. Pp. 139. York. London, Hunter.

THE task of reconsidering established principles is never agreeable, and would seldom perhaps be undertaken, if the condition of human society, requiring the continual communication of knowledge from the old to the young, and the diversities of sentiment and knowledge among all classes of mankind, making a constant appeal to admitted maxims necessary, did not frequently force it upon us : and yet the immense importance, attaching to the correctness of fundamental principles, and the readiness with which we are apt to take for granted that, which is not called into discussion, render it very desirable, that we should revert again and again to the standards, by which truth is determined, and opinions must be examined. We are therefore indebted to those persons, who by stating their scruples candidly on any question of moment, especially in the affairs of religion, lead us to review our sentiments, and retrace the grounds of our faith. We are commanded to be ready always to give an answer to every man, that asketh us a reason of the hope, that is in us : and it is our duty to do this with meekness and fear. We are never to be weary in a work of so much consequence to our own peace and to that of others, but should endeavor to catch the spirit of the apostle, to whom it was not grievous to write often the same things, if the repetition was productive of safety to the disciples.

Captain Thrush, who has occasioned the controversy, agitated in the pamphlets, the titles of which are recited above, appears to be a sincere sceptic and a candid disputant on the points, to which he demurs. He is therefore entitled to a considerate answer to the questions, which he proposes for our discussion.

Although the Athanasian creed is the ostensible subject in dispute, the contest extends, as might be expected, through all the points of difference between trinitarians and anti-trinitarians. Indeed the Athanasian creed has been forced into the controversy on no other ground than what is afforded in the following passage from the charge of Archdeacon Wrangham to his clergy.

“ It is not for our National Establishment alone, essential as we affirm that Establishment to be to the continuance of a sober and truly evangelical faith amongst us, that we must now one and all exert our-

selves. The contest is no longer on the subject of this or that Various Reading, the interpretation of half a dozen Disputed Texts, or even the genuineness of one or more Entire Chapters of the Sacred Volume. The boldness no doubt which garbles, and the ignorance which mis-translates, should have their severe and sufficient reprehension. And I am concerned to state that, in some parts of this Archdeaconry, opinions of the character alluded to have been gratuitously forced into vulgar circulation, which (from whatever motive they have emanated) may require to be examined and exploded in a future charge. For, surely, next—at whatever width of interval—next to the Deist stands the Socinian; next to him, who impugns the Inspiration of the Gospel, he who denies the Divinity of its first Promulgator." (Charge, pp. 5, 6.)

In arguing these awfully sacred points with those, who reject the doctrine of a trinity, we have always found, that we have two difficulties to contend with.

First our opponents are apt to lay down, as maxims, positions, which we admit, and then to assign them, as reasons, why they cannot agree with us.

Thus Captain Thrush says,

"The first difficulty I propose mentioning, and to me an insuperable one, in the way of receiving the doctrine of the Trinity, and with it the orthodox doctrine of our Saviour's divinity, arises from the prayers which he offers up on different occasions. These beautiful prayers I regard as realities, and I so contemplate them with sensations of joy and delight. I believe that Jesus Christ, though the appointed Saviour of mankind, wanted the things he so earnestly prayed for; and that he really stood in need of the aid and comfort of his heavenly Father, in the distress and anguish he voluntarily endured for the good of mankind. I regard these prayers as most valuable examples for our imitation, and the whole conduct of our Saviour in his difficulties and distresses, as admirably calculated to afford hope and comfort to his followers in all trials; encouraging them to pray to, and to place confidence in, the same merciful and omnipotent Being, to whom he prayed, and on whom he trusted. Allow me here to place before you, and those who may condescend to read these pages, a few of the instances of our Saviour's conduct and practice.

"Matt. xxvi. 39. 'Jesus fell upon his face, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt.' See also Mark xiv. 32—39. and Luke xxii. 41, 42, 44.

"Matt. xxvi. 42. 'Again he went away a second time, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, thy will be done.'

"——— 44. 'And went away again, and prayed the third time, saying the same words.'

"Matt. xxvii. 46. 'Jesus cried out with a loud voice, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' Mark xv. 34.

"John xii. 27. 'Jesus said, Father, save me from this hour.'

"John xiv. 16. 'Jesus said, I will pray the Father, and he will give you another comforter.'

"—— xvii. 1. 'Jesus lifted up his eyes towards heaven and said, Father, the hour is come, glorify thy Son,' &c.

"—— 5. 'And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.'

"—— 11. 'Holy Father, keep through thine own name, those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are.'

"—— 20. 'Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe in me, through their word: that they all may be one,' &c.

"The author of the epistle to the Hebrews has a very remarkable passage, chap. v. ver. 7, which our translators refer to Christ's prayer before and at his passion; and, no doubt, the author of the epistle had Christ's earnest prayers at that time in his mind. When speaking of Christ, he says, that "in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard (*i. e.* of God) in that he feared." (Or for his piety, as it is translated in the margin; or, he was heard for, or because of his devotion, as a word of the same original is thrice translated. Luke ii. 25. Acts ii. 5. viii. 2.)—*Hopton Haynes*, p. 188.

"Contemplating our divine Master in this light, we have placed before us, for our benefit and imitation, his piety, his trust and confidence in his heavenly Father, and his devout resignation to his will. And our love, our gratitude, and sympathy are excited, from considering him as a human being capable of suffering, and willing to do so for the good of others, and in obedience to the command of God." (Letter to Archdeacon Wrangham, pp. 38—40.)

Is not this much as if we should pick out positions from the thirty-nine articles, and urge our belief of them, as a reason for not being churchmen? We might say for instance—'We believe, that the Son, which is the word of the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed virgin of her substance, truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his father to us. (Art. 2.) We believe further, that Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth, until he return to judge all men at the last day. (Art. 4.) Therefore we cannot believe the doctrine of the English church.'

Secondly, antitrinitarians are apt to lay down rules, which are admitted to be true, as they apply to human nature; and thence to infer, that they must also be true, as applied to the divine.

Thus it is, that the lady, said to be Mrs. Carter, whose letter is published in the first of Capt. Thrush's pamphlets, argues in the following manner:

"My present notions are, that the Father is one intelligent active Being, or one distinct person; that the Son is another intelligent active Being, or another distinct person; and that the Holy Ghost is a third intelligent active Being, or a third distinct person. I think thus, not only because I am unable to reconcile it with reason to suppose, that each of these is an intelligent Being, who must be considered under different relations, and yet that they are not three absolutely distinct persons; but also because the Holy Scriptures speak of them, in innumerable places, as of three persons, clearly distinguished in their subsistence and operations from each other. And this too is the doctrine of our Church.

"Does it not follow then, upon the principles of this Creed, that the Father is one almighty person, the Son another almighty person, and the Holy Ghost a third almighty person? and if the term almighty has the same sense, when predicated of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, are there not then three distinct persons, each of which is equally almighty? But because the term Almighty must be understood in this argument to comprehend infinite perfection, in the most absolute meaning, is not therefore each of these persons separately, and in himself, infinitely perfect, and all of them precisely equal? Now to assert this, is, I think, to assert by the clearest argumentation, that there are three distinct Gods, each of them infinitely perfect, and consequently each of them absolutely independent of another. This, sir, is the difficulty. For to affirm, that there are three Gods, all equally perfect, implies a contradiction, in the judgment of the whole world." (App. p. 3.)

"A human understanding must be the understanding of a human person; a divine understanding, or divine nature, must be the understanding, or nature of a divine person. By ascribing therefore to Christ a human understanding, and a divine nature, which certainly includes a divine understanding, you clearly make two distinct persons. Read over carefully your own words—'From the knowledge of his divine nature, nothing can be concealed, from his human understanding there might' (something have been concealed) 'if it pleased not the divine nature to communicate, and impart it.' Is not this to say—one person, if he pleased, might communicate something, which he knew, to another person, who knew it not? If the Son of God knew the last day, he was a person that knew it; and if the Son of Man knew not the last day, he was a person that knew it not. To speak thus of Christ is to make him evidently two persons. Does not the distinct knowledge of Him, whom you sometimes call the Son of God, and the want of that knowledge, at the same instant of time, in Him whom you at other times call the Son of Man, demonstrate that the Son of God, and the Son of Man, upon this supposition, are not the same person? For can the same numerical person know the same thing at the same moment, and yet not know it? To assert this is a clear contradiction." (App. pp. 9, 10.)

"'He was, say you, 'the Son of Man, as well as the Son of God, and in him who was one Christ, each nature' (the human, and the divine) 'though united, was entire, and distinct.' How the divine

nature, and the human nature can be so united as to make but one person, and yet at the same time each of them be entire, and distinct, that is, not united, I am not able to comprehend." (App. p. 11.)

In reference to these alleged paradoxes we cite the following just observations of Mr. Richardson :

"Many seem staggered at this, as if the assertion was equivalent to saying one man is three, and three are one; and those who oppose the doctrine we maintain, are careful to magnify this seeming contradiction. But, however absurd or contradictory the assertion might be when applied to the persons of men, premises which our adversaries invariably, though improperly, argue from, yet we have no right to draw the same conclusion when speaking of the Deity. For in respect to natures differing so essentially as the human and divine, we are by no means authorized, as our opponents assume, from a contradiction in the one, to infer a contradiction in the other. What is contradiction, for instance, as to body, is not so to soul; what is in respect to time, is not so to eternity; and what is with men, is not so with God.

"Before we pronounce any thing to be contradictory, we should perfectly comprehend that to which it is applied, which if we cannot do, we have no authority to draw the inference. 'We cannot charge that as a contradiction,' says the learned Leslie, 'in one nature, because we find it so in another, unless we understand both natures perfectly well; and the divine nature being allowed on all hands to be incomprehensible, consequently we cannot charge any thing as a contradiction in it, because we find it so in our frail nature.' But if there are Trinitarian analogies in nature, which do not involve a contradiction, why, in arguing from the less to the greater, may we not have the same points granted of the Deity, analogies of which we plainly see to exist? If man, for instance, be compounded of body, soul, and spirit, and is still not three men, but one; or if the sun send forth light and heat, without dividing its substance, or confounding the body of the sun with the bodies of light and heat which proceed from it, and is therefore not three suns, but one sun, why may we not argue the same of the Deity, conceiving it possible for Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be personally distinct, but essentially united, or three Persons in one undivided Godhead? It is not, indeed, pretended that these analogies fully explain the communication of the divine nature to the sacred Three, without division or multiplication of the nature; yet they certainly remove the contradiction alleged to exist in it, and are therefore of considerable service in the cause.

"But the evil, or rather the perplexity is, that men judge of the incomprehensible God, as they do of themselves, and form their conclusions accordingly. This is no doubt an erroneous method; for inequality, and the terms greater or less, are absurdly transferred from a finite creature to an infinite Creator. Those, however, who so boldly affirm a contradiction, are totally precluded from proving their assertion by this very incomprehensibility; and an assertion without proof amounts to nothing. As Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are never said to be three and one in the same sense, it cannot be said in

strictness to involve a contradiction. They are one as equally possessing that divine nature or essence, which is inseparable from Deity, and incommunicable to a creature; and they are three in their personal capacity with reference to each other, and to us. But this no more destroys the essential unity, or makes them three Gods, than the body, soul, and spirit make three men." (Richardson, pp. 50—54.)

To speak still more plainly, our belief and doctrine are, that God is the only being in the universe, who exists in three persons, and also, that Jesus Christ is the only person, known to us in the universe, who possesses two perfect and distinct natures. When therefore positions, advanced concerning men, are allowed to involve an absurdity, as applied to them, we are no more warranted in drawing the inference, that they are absurd also, when applied to God, than we should be in maintaining that the properties of matter can be transferred to spirit, or the laws of gravity predicated concerning our thoughts and actions. That, which is false concerning a being, who possesses only one nature, may yet not be false, when affirmed of a being, who partakes of two; and the statements, which would be idle and foolish, when referred to a creature, of whom it is a fundamental distinction, that he can possess only one person, may yet be just and accurate, when spoken of a being, who is described to us, as existing in three.

Moreover we admit in common with all trinitarians, that these are modes of expression, which do not accurately describe the incomprehensible God.* But they suggest analogies, which give us the best idea, which we are capable of forming, of the truths he has seen fit to reveal concerning himself. The same imperfection, though not in an equal degree, belongs to our language on other occasions. Thus it is held to be no inaccuracy to say, 'I breathe;'—and yet my mind does not breathe, though my body does; or—'I think;'—and yet my body does not think, though my mind does. Why then should it be exploded, as worse than absurd and frivolous, to say, that Jesus Christ was God and man, or that the same person was immortal and mortal, because the divine nature is impassive, or the human imperfect? It is possible, that there may be some animals, of whom it cannot be affirmed, that they both think and breathe. It is certain, that there are no plants, of which that language can be fitly used: and yet would it not be as correct in logic to argue, that, because no other creatures that have breath, have reason, man cannot be possessed of both, as that, because man cannot unite two natures, neither can Jesus Christ, his saviour? In fact we believe, that a true

Christian exists in two natures, being born in one and regenerated to another : and hence he also is often incomprehensible to those, who are still in their natural state. But herein he differs from his great redeemer, that whereas in him neither of these natures is what it ought to be, or what it hereafter will be ; in Christ Jesus, on the other hand, both natures are entire, perfect, and sinless.

If the two principles, to which we have now adverted, were acknowledged and acted upon, and the authority of the whole Bible admitted, we might then begin to hope, that the dispute between unitarians and trinitarians would admit of a more easy adjustment, though still the doctrines of corruption, atonement, and spiritual influence would be involved in the dispute. As it is, we argue without any common data.

But the objections to the Athanasian creed are of two kinds. We have adverted to that which relates to its doctrinal statements. We must now turn to what are commonly called its damnatory, but what in our last number we have contended ought rather to be regarded as declaratory clauses.

In respect to these, Capt. Thrush advances a very extraordinary position.

“ He who believes in the damnatory clauses, must believe them to have their foundation on the word of God : and, as a Christian, he must wish this sacred word to be true in all its parts. All Athanasians, therefore, on the broad principle of wishing the word of God to be true, must unavoidably wish the eternal damnation, not only of Unitarians, but (upon the same principle) the damnation of all Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans.” (Letters to Mr. Richardson, p. 72.)

Now this is an argument, which we cannot but think upon a very little reflection Capt. Thrush will be inclined to retract : for even God himself, though he declares, ‘ The soul that sinneth, it shall die,’—declares also with equal explicitness, ‘ I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth.’ We do indeed know, and therefore we declare, that he that believeth not, shall be damned ; but it is also our wish, our earnest prayer in proclaiming that truth, that all men may believe to the saving of their souls ; that all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics, may be fetched home to the flock of the redeemer, and that they may all be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites.

In fact, if the perusal of these clauses, declaratory of the divine judgment upon all impenitence and unbelief, produce an occasional alarm in any slumbering conscience, and excite a doubt in any thoughtless unbeliever, whether he be in the right way, they have not been written nor are they

read in vain. Even the charity, which suffereth long and is kind, prohibits our forbearance towards palpable and perilous error.

We conceive that no small sum of the obloquy, thrown upon what have been stigmatized as the *damnatory clauses* of this celebrated creed, and that not only by the oppugners of its principal articles, but even by some of the most staunch defenders of its doctrines, has arisen from a reluctance to pay full and implicit deference to the holy scriptures, as constituting a divinely authorized standard, beyond which there can be no appeal.

"Offence has been taken," says Mr. Richardson, "against the supposed decisive tone of these clauses. I must, however, be permitted to say, and I hope to establish the assertion, that the language, conveying this offence, is agreeable to the words, or the constructive sense of scripture, and to the sentiments of some who lived nearest to the times of the apostles: and if this should appear to be the case, then the offence will turn out to have its origin either within the narrow circle of educational prejudice, in ignorance of the Creed itself, or in enmity to the doctrines which it maintains.—"The clauses are these, 'Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith: which faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly. He, therefore, that will be saved, must thus think of the Trinity,'—and—'This is the Catholic faith, which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.' It may reasonably be expected, that our observations should commence with those remarkably parallel words, which our Saviour addressed to his disciples, agreeably to St. Mark's narrative, when he commissioned them to teach his religion to the world: '*Goye, said he, into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature; HE THAT BELIEVETH and is baptized, shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned.*' We must here call to mind the prescribed form of words in baptism: '*baptize them, said our Lord, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*' In these words we have the Catholic faith of the Athanasian Creed, and in the words of St. Mark the *damnatory clause* annexed. The Trinity is distinctly mentioned, and the order of the sacred Three, according to the paternity of the Father, the filiation of the Son, and the procession of the Holy Ghost. And as the divine essence cannot be divided, without our falling into the gross error of Tritheism, or the worship of three independent Gods, we have also the Unity of the Trinity, from the divinity of each being specified, in the equal dedication of every baptized person to the Three as to the One, and the equal act of solemn worship thereby performed to all.

"What is of singular use in defending the clauses under our consideration, we have precisely the same issue pointed out, viz. perdition in case of rejecting this faith; and the only difference, if indeed there

be any, is this, that, in our Lord's denunciation, damnation is positive ; in the other declaratory. The Son of God says, *he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned.* And our Creed, with an obvious reference to these words, and to the form in baptism, to which they both refer, after declaring it necessary above all things, in order to salvation, to hold the Catholic faith, in the worship of one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity, declares farther, that "except every one do keep this faith whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." Now upon what are the words, *without doubt*, founded, but upon our Lord's declaration ? The Creed, therefore, draws this as a regular conclusion, from premises laid down by our Lord, as the result of unbelief, with reference to the form and belief in baptism, and not at all denouncing damnation as the sole anathema of man. This evident connexion, and even parallel, between Scripture and our Creed, should assist in removing those unreasonable, and in fact unfounded, prejudices which are often entertained against the latter ; at least, to be consistent, they should be equally transferred to the Scriptures. (Pp. 64—67.)

The language of the Apostle Paul, in a variety of passages, where he pronounces an anathema on those who reject or oppose the truth, as it is in Jesus, ought for ever to silence the voice of objectors to our Creed.

"But it may be objected (says Mr. Richardson) that what becomes an apostle, does not become a teacher who is not inspired. This, however, I think, makes little or no difference. Wrath and its denunciation certainly belong to God, and, when committed to man, are merely declaratory, even when there is a divine commission. An apostle declares the wrath through the teaching of the Spirit ; and his successor, though not inspired, declares the same upon the credit of that inspiration, which influenced prophets and apostles." (Pp. 79, 80.)

"These are not points, that are indifferent in themselves, or that may be believed or disbelieved at pleasure, and with impunity. They are of vital importance, affecting the very substance of religion ; and the damnatory clauses in our Creed can alone convey an adequate idea of the consequence of rejecting them, on whatever side the truth may lie." (P. 109.)

We will now take another view of the subject, and, making not the Athanasian creed or the orthodox belief, but the socinian heresy, the subject of consideration, will advert to the allegations, which denominate socinianism an intermediate step between christianity and deism. This statement, which we have already seen implied in the passage quoted from Archdeacon Wrangham's charge, first gave offence to Captain Thrush, and called him into the arena of controversy.

"You are not, however, (says Mr. Richardson, in addressing his ordinary,) the first, who has made this declaration, nor will you be the last, so long as they hold principles in common, and so long as the tendency of those principles is so very evident." (P. 2.)

We would add in confirmation of the Archdeacon's statement, that it once happened to ourselves to pick out of the satchel of a Sunday-school girl, under socinian instruction, a copy of a prayer, which had been composed for the daily use of the children; and it contained no more recognition of a single Christian principle, than if it had been written by Confucius or by Ram-mohun-roy. This latter gentleman is indeed claimed by Captain Thrush, as a very good Unitarian. (Letters to Mr. Richardson, p. 93.) But Mr. Richardson further asks—

"Why may not the inference be drawn" (or rather perhaps why should not the statement be persisted in) "even if we should substitute atheism for deism, while we mark the progress which some professed Unitarians have made?"

"The great apostle of these sentiments, whose example they are emulous to imitate, informed us last century that he had gone on changing, always in one direction, which was by descent from revealed truth, from the time he began to think for himself till the period of making the declaration, which was when he was far advanced in life. In the estimation of a great majority of the Christian world, the direction he took was opposed to that which was right. But right or wrong we have it upon his own testimony. His progress was from Trinitarianism to high Arianism, from high Arianism to low Arianism, and from that to Socinianism of the lowest kind. He here outstripped Socinus himself, and all his followers; and when he arrived at this point, low as it was, he seemed to contemplate a further retrogression, for he then declared that 'he could not say when his creed might be fixed.'" (Pp. 2, 3.)

We ourselves have ever been of opinion with the present Bishop of London, who in a late Charge said: "I do not hesitate to aver my conviction, that the profession of Unitarian tenets affords a convenient shelter to many, who would be more properly termed Deists; and who are distinguished from *real Unitarians*, or such as conscientiously reject the peculiar dogmas, but admit the general truths of Christianity, first, by the boldness of their *interpolations, omissions, and perversions of Holy Writ*; secondly, by the indecency of their insinuations against the *veracity* of the *inspired writers*; thirdly, by their familiar levity on the awful *mysteries of religion*; and fourthly, by their disrespectful reflections on the *person and actions* of THEIR SAVIOUR. And thus they betray the true secret of the *flimsy guise* they have assumed, as a covering from the odium of *professed infidelity*."

There was a day when unmasked infidelity was not only welcomed but even naturalized in the fashionable world, and was surrounded with the artificial and meretricious splendour of that fascinating region. But infidelity is now un-

fashionable among the thinking part of the community: and therefore Socinianism affords a welcome refuge from the disrepute of Atheism and Deism, both to the fool who says in his heart—‘There is no God,’—and to the man, who strips the Everlasting Son of his divine attributes, that he may invest human Reason with all the honours of an incarnate deity. But Mr. Richardson proceeds—

“I wish to produce the testimony of a celebrated set of men, who cannot fall under the censure, so liberally cast by Socinians upon clerical advocates for the faith, of being interested members, and therefore dishonest, of an ‘established Priesthood,’ which, say they, ‘is in its very nature a persecuting order, and characterized by indolence, pride, and bitter zeal.’ These persons, then, are Voltaire, Diderot, and D’Alembert, the infidel authors of that famous work, the *Encyclopédie*, which deluged Europe with principles utterly subversive of religion and morals. They speak thus of the Unitarian system. ‘The Unitarians have always been regarded as Christian divines, who had only broken and torn off a few branches of the tree, but still held to the trunk; whereas they ought to have been looked upon as a sect of Philosophers, who, that they might not give too rude a shock to the religion and opinions, true or false, which were then received, did not choose openly to avow pure deism, and reject formally and unequivocally every sort of revelation; but who were continually doing, with respect to the Old and New Testament, what Epicurus did with respect to the gods, admitting them verbally, but destroying them really. In fact, the Unitarians received only so much of the Scriptures as they found conformable to the natural dictates of reason, and what might serve the purpose of propping up and confirming the systems they had embraced. A man becomes a Protestant. Soon finding out the inconsistency of the essential principles of Protestantism, he applies to Socinianism for a solution of his doubts and difficulties; and he becomes a Socinian. From Socinianism to Deism there is but a very slight shade, and a single step to take; and he takes it.’” (Ib. pp. 8, 9.)

We may add what was well said by an acute writer of the last century upon this subject, that “the change from Christianity to Socinianism is as little to be envied, as the transmigration of those, who should leave the scenery of Paradise and the plenty of Canaan, to associate with the savages of the South on a weather-beaten rock in the Magellanic Ocean, where enjoyment could be nothing but infatuation, and a true sense of their condition, whenever they should return to it, could end in nothing but horror and despair.” Are, then, Christianity and Socinianism regions so strongly defined and so clearly distinguished, that he who migrates to and locates himself in the latter is exiled and expatriated from the former? We answer, that either Christianity, like the *terra incognita* of the ancients, has no assign-

able confines, or Socinianism is no more a part of it, than Kerguelen's Land, the Island of Desolation, is a portion of Asia's most luxuriant and fertile provinces.

We see no force in the argument used by Socinian writers from the term Trinity not being found in Scripture. "The term Trinity," says another writer, "it is readily admitted, is not to be found in the Bible: but neither are the terms *unity*, (applied to the attributes of God) *omnipresence*, *omnipotence*, *omniscience*. But no one will doubt that these are to be ascribed to the Deity on the authority of Scripture, because the terms just mentioned are not in the Bible. The fact is, that the SUBJECT MATTER, which those terms are designed to indicate, does occur, so that the objection against the catholic Doctrine of the Trinity, founded on the non-occurrence of that word in the Scriptures, has in it no substantial validity." The injunction, "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God," is faithfully complied with, when a teacher and expositor of divine truth brings forward its SUBJECT MATTER in such terms as may place it within the distinct vision, if not within the grasp and comprehension of the human understanding.

But though we have not that hypercritical fondness and ardour for logomachies, which distinguishes some men, yet we are by no means disposed to concede to our opponents in this cause an exclusive right to the appellation of Unitarians. "The reason," says the admirable Fuller, "why the term Socinians is preferred to that of Unitarians, is not for the purpose of reproach, but because the latter name is not a fair one. The term, as explained by themselves, signifies those professors of Christianity who worship but *one God*: but this is not that wherein they can be allowed to be distinguished from others. For what professors of Christianity are there, who profess to worship a plurality of Gods? Trinitarians also profess to be Unitarians: they, as well as their opponents, believe there is but *one God*. To give Socinians therefore this name *exclusively*, would be granting them the very point which they seem so desirous to take for granted, that is say, the point in debate."

A brief Appendix to Mr. Richardson's pamphlet puts us in possession of his sentiments on the well known Letter of Tillotson to Burnet. If the ecclesiastical elevation of a writer is allowed to give additional weight of authority to opinions, we may at least throw into the opposite scale the judgment of other men as eminent as Tillotson, who have occupied the archiepiscopal seat. But it is very doubtful, if not more than questionable, whether the "*wish*," imputed to that eminent

Prelate, was the genuine expression of his sentiments, or even of his own pen. We regard it however as an historical question of more curiosity than intrinsic importance. Tillotson was indeed a prelate of mild theological temperament, and is known to have kept up an urbane intercourse with some men of principles diametrically opposite to his own. But his writings unequivocally and vigorously uphold the doctrines and defend the very phraseology of the creed. His public conduct moreover, as a commissioner for the revision of the liturgy in the year 1689, when the Athanasian symbol was not only retained, but received from the commissioners the additional sanction of their own testimony, that the articles of it ought to be received and believed, as being agreeable to the holy scriptures, leaves us but one alternative, if we would not accuse him of imbecillity, indecision, and prevarication; and that alternative is to survey with a suspicion bordering on scepticism, if not positively to reject the letter in question. The document itself is

“ a copy of the copy of an original, (now lost) of a private letter to a friend, published long after the death of the person who wrote it, and of him who received it, and by one also, who was no friend to the Creed. Let this be weighed with the Prelate's well known sentiments, in unison with the subject matter of the Creed, expressed in his writings; with his solemn and deliberate assent to a rubric for retaining it in the *Liturgy of the Church*, and declaring with the rest, as no doubt a leading man from his station and talents, that the articles of it ought to be received and believed, as being agreeable to the *Holy Scriptures*; and with the total silence of history as to any farther corroborative proof of the reality of this wish! Here is the evidence on both sides: and it will easily be determined, that a slight wish, privately, and as it were casually, expressed, and not clear whether it refer to the Creed, or to the Exposition of Burnet, cannot, in the way of evidence or of importance, stand before opinions, avowed in his writings, before acts so notorious, so deliberate, so solemn as the above, and before the entire silence of history.” (P. 137.)

ART. XX.—THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

1. *A Letter to Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart. one of the Members of Parliament for the county of Kent, on his accepting the Office of President, at a Meeting of an Auxiliary Church Missionary Association, held in the Town-hall of Maidstone, on the 14th of August last; by G. R. Gleig, M. A. Rector of Ivy Church, and perpetual Curate of Ash, in the County of Kent, and domestic Chaplain to the Right Honorable the*

- Earl of Kildare. 1823. 8vo. pp. 96. London. Longman and Co. and Rivingtons.
2. *A Letter to Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart. M. P. for the County of Kent, in reply to the charges brought by the Rev. G. R. Gleig, M. A. against the Church Missionary Society ;* by the Rev. T. Bartlett, A. M. Rector of Kingstone, near Canterbury, 1823. 8vo. pp. 64. London. Hatchards, and Seeleys.
 3. *A Letter to Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart. in reply to a Letter by the Rev. G. R. Gleig ;* by the Rev. S. Rickards, A. M. late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, Curate of Ulcombe, and one of the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Association for the County of Kent. 1824. 8vo. pp. 70. London. Hatchards.

WE know not what effect the singular specimen of persuasive eloquence, contained in the first of these pamphlets, may have had upon the Gentleman, to whom it is addressed. But if it have lowered the Church Missionary Society in his estimation, he must have learned to draw inferences in a different school of logic from that, in which we had the happiness of being instructed.

Such was the tone, in which we were beginning to criticize Mr. Gleig's letter, when the same spirit of discovery, which led Mr. Granville Penn to throw a new light on the primary argument of the Iliad, fortunately visited us, and made us wonder at our own dulness in having literally read the pamphlet through, without perceiving its real object. Thinking it possible, however, that some of our readers may fall into the same error, we will endeavor concisely to elucidate the true aim of the work : and, as it is the only aim, in which it is in the least degree successful, its author must feel indebted to us for taking pains to rest his claims to merit in the eyes of the public on their proper foundation. It is evident, then, that Mr. Gleig has been struck, as most men of good feeling and good taste have been, with the gross imperfections which disgrace our controversial writings in the present day, and, wishing to correct them, he has thought, and that with philosophical accuracy, that the first step towards that effect was to awaken in the public mind a full conviction of their existence. With this intent he has endeavored to embody them all in one short work, so as to bring them under the view at once ; and so completely has he succeeded in this his practical exposition of them, that no future navigator of the troubled sea of controversy will be able to justify a wreck on the ground of the omission of a single rock or shoal in this chart.

We can only give the author credit, however, for an ingenious application of this plan ; for it is not new in itself. We have seen a little work used in schools, in which most of the words are wrongly spelt, that the children may be taught to rectify the orthography, by way of perfecting their own. There is also a learned work, written, if our memory serves us, by one Mr. Geoffrey Gambado, in which every possible mode of riding badly is ingeniously set forth for the instruction of those who are wise enough to wish to profit by the errors of others. From one, or both of these works, Mr. Gleig has probably taken a hint, and has ably thrown together, in less than a hundred pages, some very striking and forcible illustrations of all the leading faults that characterize polemical writings. To give them the greater effect, he has woven them into an argument in itself glaringly absurd, which, of course, sets them off to the best advantage.

If read with this clue, the work under our consideration may be of singular use to our young polemics, who may study it as the youthful Spartans did the unseemly vagaries of the drunken helots, in order to avoid the disgrace of a similar exposure. Perhaps a few instances of the mode in which these errors are exemplified may be of use in guiding the reader to a ready application of these practical precepts.

First then for some striking exemplifications of that commonest of pamphleteering errors, groundless assertion. It is roundly asserted, that of five gentlemen who spoke at the Kentish meeting,

“some have rendered themselves tolerably conspicuous by their maintenance of doctrines which our church most distinctly disavows.” (Gleig. p. 6.)

It might be sufficient, to prove the modest assurance which marks this statement, were we to select one from the five highly respectable names, that namely of the Rev. E. Bickersteth, whose writings are pretty well known to the public, and request the reverend author to point to any one doctrine, maintained in them, the distinct disavowal of which by our church he can *prove*.

But in order to shew off this figure of controversy in all its beauty, it was expedient, that the writer, who brings such an accusation against his brethren, should himself commit the fault, which he charges : and therefore, not to trouble the reader with lengthened discussion, we will only extract from Mr. Bartlett's reply a passage, which to any, who have read the first pamphlet, will sufficiently prove this merit to belong fairly to Mr. Gleig.

“As the gratuitous imposition of a reproach cannot, in reality, rob

an individual of his Orthodoxy, the imputation of such a reproach ought not to be listened to, in the absence of the clearest and fullest proof. It is fair to presume, that, if those Reverend Gentlemen could be heard in their defence, *it might appear that they are not wrong*; and if the sentiments they hold were impartially compared with the Homilies, and Articles, and Liturgy of our Church, *it might moreover appear that they are right*.

“Upon this subject, however, I will only trust myself to remark, that, had those Gentlemen, in their speeches, laid down the doctrines which the Reverend Writer has done in his Letter; had they classed the Patriarchs of old, who worshipped *the only-living and true God*, with the worshippers of ‘*unknown Gods*,’ and of the *thirty thousand Deities of Greece*; had they palpably contradicted the Articles of our Church; had they occupied the attention of their Auditors, by a theory of ‘*Redemption from eternal annihilation*;’ then, Sir, Mr. Gleig might, *with some reason*, have held them up to public reprehension, as *not orthodox*; then he might, upon a *fairer and firmer ground*, have asserted, ‘*their maintenance of doctrines, which our Church most distinctly disavows*.’” (Bartlett, pp. 58, 59.)

But a still bolder example of the error is to be found in our next extract, which is one of the happiest examples of polemical misrepresentation which it has ever fallen to our lot to discover.

“That I am borne out in this assertion by the actual failure of all attempts to convert the still *savage* tribes of Africa and elsewhere, a candid perusal of the reports of your own Society may alone convince you.” (Gleig, p. 39.)

A “candid perusal” here clearly means reading them backward, or crosswise, or in any other way, but that in which their plain and obvious sense is to be gathered; for that would unavoidably lead to a directly opposite conviction.

That this is really the state of the case, and that the palm of groundless assertion is here also to be justly awarded to Mr. Gleig, we will allow Mr. Rickards to shew.

“In that very Report, in which Mr. Gleig professes to see nothing, but the actual failure of all our attempts, more particularly in our African stations, there are, amongst many others, the following notices:—‘It is hardly possible,’ says Sir George Collier, ‘to conceive the difficulties which have been surmounted, in bringing the colony of Sierra Leone to its present improved, and still very improving state. I visited all the black towns and villages, attended the public schools, and other establishments, and I never witnessed in any population more contentment and happiness.’ In a second Report, Sir George says,—‘The manner in which the public schools are here conducted, reflects the greatest credit on those concerned in their prosperity; and the improvement made by the scholars proves the aptitude of the Africans, if moderate pains are taken to instruct them. I have attended places of public worship in every quarter of the globe, and I

do most conscientiously declare, never did I witness the ceremonies of religion more piously performed or more devoutly attended to, than in Sierra Leone.'

"The Chief Justice also, in a letter with which he has favored the Committee, expresses the delight with which he has witnessed the worship of the liberated negroes, at their establishments in the interior of the colony, and congratulates the Society on the success of its exertions to diffuse the light of the Gospel over the darkness of Africa.

"There is much more to the same purpose, resting upon the same or equally good authority; and yet I repeat it, and I beg it may be observed, that this is the Report, which (Mr. Gleig says) bears him out in the assertion, that all our attempts at conversion in that quarter of the world have actually failed." (Rickards, pp. 31, 32.)

Another case in point from the pages of Mr. Rickards we must produce.

"One striking instance of mis-statement in Mr. Gleig's letter may be seen, by comparing his remarks upon the number of converts made, and sums expended by the Church Missionary Society, with the passage which he refers to in the Report of Proceedings. He mistakes the number of *children now* in the different Schools of the Society, for the total number of *converts ever* made by our Missionaries. Mr. Pratt's words are these;—'And now we have more than ten thousand five hundred scholars, of both sexes, throughout the nine Missions of the Society.'" (Rickards, p. 54.)

One more example, and we have done with this head. In a note in the last page, as if to shew that the same proficiency in groundless assertion can be sustained through ninety-six pages, we find the Society denominated "a few congregated clergymen and laymen." The reader, who is not already acquainted with the fact, and is not yet initiated in the art of reading *per contra*, may be surprised perhaps to hear, that there are above twelve hundred clergymen in the Society, and that consequently, with the addition of the laymen, they go to prove that he who reckons them "a few," must have very capacious ideas.

The error in polemics which we will next exemplify is gross ignorance. It seems, that Mr. Bickersteth had been so absurd as to make it a subject of lamentation, that "three-fourths of the human race know nothing of that only name given under heaven amongst men, whereby we must be saved."

Upon his having done so is founded the following pathetic appeal to Sir Edward Knatchbull's understanding; at the close of which the reader will find some of the new doctrines, already adverted to.

"Really, really, Sir Edward, that a man of your powerful mind and correct principles could sit and listen to observations, not only

childish and absurd, but absolutely tending to impeach the benevolence and justice of the Deity, cannot fail to astonish all who give to the subject one moment's consideration. Does Mr. Bickersteth indeed suppose that no part of the human race shall reap the benefit of Christ's death and passion, except that very small proportion, to whom the truths of the gospel have been explained? What, then, is to become of those pious men of antiquity, of Noah, and Abraham, and Isaac, of Moses and David, and all the saints of the olden time?" (P. 8, 9.)

To relieve Mr. Gleig or his readers from any alarm about these worthies, we are happy to refer him to the thirteenth verse of the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which tells us: "These all died in faith." Nothing, but our good-natured hypothesis, which makes all the errors of this work intentional, can save the writer, who reasons upon the supposition that "Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Moses, and David" knew nothing of Christ, from the imputation of ignorance, not merely unworthy of a clergyman, but for which the poorest of his parishioners, who possesses a bible, and the power of reading it, might blush.

Mr. Bartlett, evidently not discerning this drift of Mr. Gleig to exhibit purposely a specimen of controversial ignorance, says gravely,

"I will refer Mr. Gleig, both for the letter of Scripture, and the exposition of our Church upon the point, to the following quotation from a sermon *on this very passage*, preached by a Right Reverend Prelate before the Society for propagating the Gospel, in 1819. 'Whatever gloss might be applied to the text by Christians of other denominations, *we of the Church of England are determinately fixed in our opinion, by the comment of the Eighteenth Article.*' 'They are to be accursed, that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law, or sect, which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law and the light of nature: *For Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.*' Let, then, the Infidel select the text as the favorite object of his attack; let the *falsely-called rational Christian* pervert, lower, and accommodate it to his own narrow prejudices; let worldly-minded men, of all communions, pass it by, as unintelligible, or inapplicable to any practical purpose! With us, it is a prominent axiom of our Creed, an established principle of our judgments, a governing motive for our conduct: 'There is none other name under heaven given among men, (besides the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth) whereby we must be saved.' Neither is the application Mr. Gleig makes of this text *less extraordinary*, than the manner in which the text itself is treated. 'What then,' (he exclaims) 'is to become of those pious men of antiquity, of Noah and Abraham and Isaac, of Moses and David, and all the Saints of olden

time? What is to become of Socrates and Plato, of Lycurgus and Solon; of all those heathen worthies, in short, who to the best of their ability have benefited their species, and increased the sum of universal happiness? What, Sir, does the Reverend Gentleman class Noah a preacher of righteousness, Abraham the father of believers, Isaac the child of promise, Moses whose face shone with the reflection of the glory of his Maker, and David the man after God's own heart,—does he class these, ‘and all the Saints of the olden time,’ with Solon, and Lycurgus, and Socrates, and Plato? Has the Reverend Gentleman forgotten, that these Holy Patriarchs wrote, and spoke, and prophesied of Christ—that they were themselves eminent types of Christ—that Abraham rejoiced to see the day of the Redeemer, that he saw it and was glad—that ‘Moses esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt,’—and that ‘all these died in the faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth?’ And are these holy men to be classed, by a Christian Writer, with Lycurgus, and Solon, and Socrates, and Plato?” (Pp. 53, 56.)

We could point out sundry other examples in this line, but prefer, for variety's sake, going on to another important beacon-light, held out in glaring prominency, to warn controversialists from the dangerous quicksand of absurd reasoning. To make short work, and give this dangerous society its death-blow at once, Mr. Gleig undertakes to prove that its proceedings are quite at variance with the plans of the Great Founder of Christianity. And thus he argues, if arguing it must be called:

“When the first five books of Moses were written” (we were not aware, till Mr. Faber told us so, that Moses had written any more) “we know that the whole human race was sunk in utter barbarism; that in that barbarism God's chosen people fully partook; that arts were in their infancy, sciences unknown, and the boasted reason of man, in a very trifling degree, if at all, elevated above brute instinct.” (P. 39.)

It may be difficult perhaps to imagine who are to be included in Mr. Gleig's plural pronoun “we.” For our own parts we beg leave not to be of the party, as “we know” no such thing. Advancing a few centuries,

“We find religion in the days of King David a very different thing from what it was in the days of Moses. No longer were the senses of the people dazzled by repeated reversions of the ordinary laws of nature; no longer were they retained in obedience to the will of God by temporal rewards and punishments unerringly administered. Their faith had become more elevated, their notions of God more correct; their religion no longer consisted entirely of external rites and ceremonies, but took up its seat in their minds, and began to actuate their secret thoughts as well as their outward proceedings.” (P. 41.)

Where the learned author finds the proofs on which he would establish these points, the last especially, he has very sagaciously left out of sight, as he has also judiciously omitted to state, by what singular piece of luck Moses, Joshua, Caleb, and other saints of the olden time, stumbled upon a spiritual and heart-affecting religion. But to proceed with this notable argument.

“As the fulness of time drew near, again, these more refined religious principles received every day a greater and a greater polish.”

Whence? Was it from those traditions, with which the Pharisees made void the law of Moses, that law, which, strange to say, our Saviour revived and established, though it had been given to man when he was little, *if at all*, above the brutes? However, this high *polish*, which the religion of the Jews had acquired, combined with the civilized state of the rest of the world, constituted, in Mr. Gleig’s happily constructed argument, “the fulness of time;” by which phrase is meant, he says,

“the particular period at which the degree of civilization prevalent amongst men was sufficient for God’s purposes.” (P. 43.)

Strange that the Almighty should have waited for this period of civilization, at some risk of being charged with wanton caprice by his reasoning and polemical creatures, (see page 43), and should then have not only fixed the scene of his great disclosure in a nation, held in utter contempt by the most polished inhabitants of the world, but chosen also twelve of the poorest and least educated in that nation, as the instruments, by which he was to make the best advantage of this appropriate state of civilization! Truly it is a satisfactory discovery, that nothing, but such flimsy and childish reasoning as this, can enable us to shut our eyes against the blessed fruits of the labours of a Johnson, and to sit down convinced, that it is useless to present Christianity to a people, till you have brought them to a high polish. We could bestow some strong expressions on this subject, by way of aiding our author to blazon this error of absurd reasoning, but that we want them for the reprobation of two other faults in the controversial style of writing, of which he has given examples, flippancy, and rudeness. For the former, see the following passage!

“Nor have my eyes as yet fully recovered the effect of Mr. Bickerseth’s pathetic appeal, where he exclaims—‘Oh, if I could have taken this meeting with me to Western Africa, and shewn you our schools of black children; if you could have seen them learning their books’ (pretty little blackamoors to learn *books*, where white children can learn only lessons!) ‘and heard them singing,’ &c. whilst it

is truly shocking to understand, upon the authority of the same learned missionary, that 'there are eight hundred millions of immortal souls all living' (what! independently of bodies!) 'on the face of the earth; and about six hundred millions of them, in the nineteenth century after Christ, never heard of the God that made them, or the Saviour that died for them.' (Gleig, pp. 7, 8.)

We would venture to match these precious parentheses against any thing that could be produced in the way of miserable and misplaced attempts at wit; and as to the unfeeling disregard for those, whose state is called in scripture "darkness and the shadow of death," we know not where it could be displayed more appropriately than in an attack upon the Church Missionary Society. It is necessary, however, in order to do full justice to this successful instance of flippancy in reply, to quote Mr. Bartlett's observation upon it.

"When the same gentleman remarked—'Only consider the state of the world! Eight hundred millions of immortal souls are living on the face of the earth, and above six hundred millions of them, in the nineteenth century after Christ, never heard of the God that made them, or the Saviour that died for them'—, who would have imagined, that the Reverend Rector of Ivy church could have cited this appalling truth, that, by the *unauthorized addition of the word 'all,' he might give it a ludicrous turn, and make a jest of the miseries of our species?* He cites it thus, 'There are eight hundred millions of immortal souls, *all living*,---what,' he exclaims, 'independently of bodies?'" (P. 40.)

Rudeness is well exemplified where, after quoting some words used by Mr. G. Noel, the author says—

"But the Hon. and Rev. Gentleman must be perfectly aware that his assertion is incorrect both in letter and in spirit." (P. 31.)

Had the author used such language in a mess-room, he would have been taught, probably in a summary way, what is really conveyed in this periphrasis, and that no gentleman ought to cast such an imputation on any one, till he has forfeited his claim to that title by deliberate and detected falsehood.

Again, after an extract from a report of Mr. Norton's, he says,

"Had Mr. Norton possessed three grains of common sense, he must have been aware that his impertinent and unmeaning intrusion upon a ceremony, regarded as holy and sacred by those who performed it, was little likely, under any circumstances, to convert to his faith a people many degrees more enlightened, and more capable of following a chain of argument, than his auditors at Ambula-poolie." (P. 56.)

And in the next page he breaks out into the following sublime apostrophe:—

"Ye faculties of common reason, which appear to hold no intercourse with Mr. Norton's brain!"

Now, though we happen to know but little of Mr. Norton

personally, and cannot therefore say, how many or how few grains would outweigh his common sense, we know enough to be sure, that he has too much of that quality to expose himself by a style of writing and reasoning, bearing any parallel to the contents of this pamphlet; and that "impertinent and unmeaning," are epithets very unlikely to be justly applicable to his words or actions. Surely Mr. Rickards is justified in observing upon this paragraph—

"Let any one read the extract Mr. Gleig has given from the conversation, which passed! and he will see nothing like 'reviling their god' on the part of Mr. Norton. But let him read Mr. Gleig's remarks upon it! and he will be inclined to fix the charge of reviling elsewhere." (P. 51.)

And it is not without reason, that he thus alludes to it in another place—

"It almost tempts one to regard the passage in the light of an invocation, and to imagine, that the author meant to ask for himself, as well as Mr. Norton, three grains of common sense." (P. 34.)

We have reserved for the close of our remarks Mr. Gleig's crowning effort, in a practical exemplification of that most pitiful of controversial tricks, the endeavour to fasten upon a cause matter of offence totally unconnected with it. After quoting some passages from the records of the Society, which are as far as possible from bearing him out in the inferences which he wishes to draw from them, he proceeds thus:—

"There is, however, another publication, to which many references are made by the members of the Association, over a branch of which you preside; from this I cannot resist the temptation of making, at least, one extract." (P. 64.)

Accordingly a dialogue is quoted, of a character calculated to prejudice the public mind against the mode of conversing with the heathen, therein detailed, but having no more to do with the Church Missionary, than it has with the Royal Society, the publication whence it was taken not having been once referred to by any member of the Kent Church Missionary Association, in spite of the assertion with which the quotation is prefaced, and the Society itself being *totally* unconnected both with it, and with the person concerned in the dialoguc. For, as Mr. Rickards says,

"In all that Mr. Gleig extracts after this, concerning Mr. Thom, from the Missionary Magazine, the Church Missionary Society has not the least concern; and it is quite difficult to give an honest reason, why the Rev. Gentleman should have gone to a Dissenting Magazine, to find arguments against Church Missions. The inference, however, is pretty conclusive, that such arguments were not to be found any where else. The extract he gives in pp. 64 and 65, details the conversation of a Dissenting Missionary; and the Magazine itself is not

the accredited publication of any *Missionary Society* whatever. So then, let it be observed, that the only quotation, brought from *Missionary* conversations, which under all the circumstances was really objectionable, has nothing to do with our *Missionaries*, is of doubtful authority, and utterly irrelevant to the case in hand ! (Pp. 53, 54.)

We might enlarge further on many other particulars, such as the precious instance of special pleading, which by giving two inconsistent definitions of a *Church Society* (pp. 15 and 95), one for the clergy, and another for the laity, enables the author, whichever side an adversary may prefer, to confute him from the other. Thus, if a writer should start up, and maintain, that there is and can be but one *Church Missionary Society*, he may be silenced by an appeal to the sixteenth page of Mr. Gleig's pamphlet ; or, if he should maintain that there may be several, he is as easily overthrown from the appendix, in the ninety-fifth. Or we might produce a beautiful specimen of that art of condemning an absent victim upon mere hypothesis, which is so useful to regular controversialists.

" If Mr. Schnarré took it upon him to account for the prevalent distemper, as no doubt he did, on the score of a judgment, sent by God in punishment of the want of faith manifested by the natives, he was guilty of as gross and impudent an imposture, as was the ' venerable St. Augustine,' when he predicted the death of certain monks." (Pp. 62, 63.)

On which Mr. Rickards grounds the following counter-hypothesis :—

" Let us alter the sentence a little, and let us judge how far the same sentence might fairly be pronounced upon himself ! If Mr. Gleig were aware, as no doubt he was, that he was accusing Mr. Schnarré without evidence, he was guilty of a gross and impudent imposture. (Pp. 52, 53.)

But we imagine, that our readers have by this time had a sufficient sample of this model of controversy, and may be ready to pass with us to other subjects. We will therefore only add, that, if any weak reader should mistake the tendency of Mr. Gleig's reasoning, and fancy that it conveys any real censure upon the proceedings of the *Church Missionary Society*, he may find his error satisfactorily corrected in either of the two sensible and judicious pamphlets, which stand after it at the head of this article. From the last of them we quote the following short summary of their united argument :

" Out of the ruins of its late opponent's arguments, I would collect a few materials, and employ them on its side. If, for instance, Mr. Gleig has failed in attempting to prove that it is miscalled a *Church Missionary Society*, I hope it has been shewn that it has a good right to that valuable name :—if he has not shewn that its proceedings vio-

late the order and discipline of our Establishment, I hope I have shewn that they are in perfect unison with it;—if he was plainly mistaken in saying that no such Society was wanted, it remains that the direct contrary is true, that it was wanted;—and, lastly, if he has not succeeded in pointing out that its operations have been useless and mischievous, it still remains probable, that they are not only innocent, but even productive of much good; and this I trust I have satisfactorily made out. (Pp. 62, 63.)

“The direct arguments, then, which establish the claims of the Church Missionary Society to our support, are briefly these:—There can be no doubt that our Lord’s last command to his disciples,—‘Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature,’ gave them a commission, studiously unlimited and universal; and there can be as little doubt that that commission was not temporary, but meant to extend throughout all ages of the Church. Why else was it said, ‘Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world’? It matters not, then, how contracted our means may be; the duty itself is equally binding, whether they be little or great; for our obligation to undertake it, is not the calculation of success, but simply the command of our Master.” (Pp. 65, 66.)

“Now, it can hardly be called reasonable to expect, that the immense work of preaching the Gospel to the Heathen, who constitute such a prodigious majority of the human race, can possibly be carried on with all practicable energy by Societies, which confessedly have other great objects primarily in view. But surely it is very reasonable and very desirable, that so vast a design should be undertaken and prosecuted by an Association, which should make that its sole and its exclusive object. The Church Missionary Society is doing this very thing; and it is the only Church Society, which is doing it. The manner in which it is doing it, might be pretty well inferred from the circumstance, that it is conducted only by members of the Church of England, and strictly upon the principles of the Church of England. But we are not left to make inferences; we have positive information upon the subject not only in the Annual Reports of the Society, but, what is much more material, from the testimony of many civil officers, stationed near the scenes of our Missionaries’ labours. Sir Charles McCarthy, Sir George Collier, Sir Edward Barnes, and several others, besides the late Bishop Middleton quoted above, have fully justified the characters of our Missionaries from the charge of indiscretion and enthusiasm, and publicly declared their admiration of these men’s quiet industry, and sober-minded firmness and perseverance. When corroborated by such authority, there is nothing partial or unfair in appealing afterwards to the Reports themselves; and, taking our judgment of the Society’s proceedings from them, we shall see, that its efforts are conducted upon just such plans as its very enemies point out, as the most probable means of ultimate success.” (Ib. pp. 66, 67.)

ART. XXI.—THE INTERMEDIATE STATE.

1. *Sermons and Extracts, consolatory on the loss of Friends, selected from the works of the most eminent divines.* London. Hatchards. 1819. 8vo. pp. 493.
2. *The Excursions of a Spirit, with a Survey of the Planetary World; a Vision. With four illustrative Plates.* London. Rivingtons. 1821. 12mo. Pp. vii. and 208.
3. *Essays on the Recollections, which are to subsist between earthly Friends, reunited in the World to come, and on other Subjects connected with Religion, and in part with Prophecy;* by Thomas Gisborne, M. A. London, Cadell; Edinburgh, Blackwood. 1822. 12mo. Pp. viii. and 354.
4. *Euthanasia, or the State of Man after death;* by the Rev. Luke Booker, L.L.D. Vicar of Dudley. London. Simpkin and Marshall; Hatchards. 1822. 12mo. Pp. 169.

WE have put these publications together, simply because they bring before us the sentiments of several writers on two very interesting problems, which almost every human being must at some period have entertained, first, whether we shall know each other after death, and secondly, whether that mutual recognition will commence immediately, or whether all the faculties of the soul will be suspended till the day of judgment.

On the first of these questions, namely, whether we shall know each other after death, some writers have been very sceptical. They have even doubted, whether the soul will then retain its consciousness of its own pre-existent history, much more, whether it will retain its knowledge of others, and particularly, whether friends, who have been separated, will be then reunited with their attachments unimpaired and their mutual affections entire.

This last form of the inquiry of course leads us to separate from it all consideration of the impenitent, whose attachments, losing then the advantage of the flattering estimate, which they had previously formed of each other's character, cannot retain its power, when the mask is stripped off all hearts, and the soul is read undisguised.

On the question, thus limited, whether the souls of the faithful will preserve their recollections and mutual attachments, or rather, whether earthly friends will remain friends, when they come to be heavenly, we are desirous to quote the sentiments of some divines and other Christians, to shew what has been the common opinion among the best students of the bible on this important subject.

We will first produce the testimony of the venerable Lu-

ther. Being once asked, whether we should know each other in heaven, he answered—"How was it with Adam? he had never seen Eve: for, when God formed her, he was in a deep sleep. Yet, when he awaked and saw her, he did not ask, who she was, or whence she came, but immediately said, that she was flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone. How then did he know this? Being filled with the holy spirit, and endued with the true knowledge, he was able to determine upon the nature of things. In like manner we shall be perfectly renewed hereafter through Christ, and shall know with far greater perfection than can be conceived of here, our dearest relations, and indeed whatever exists, and in a mode too, much superior to that of Adam in Paradise."

Mr. Serle, in his *Christian Remembrancer*, has the following passage:

"I have lost a friend," says some anxious mind. But who took that friend? was it not the God who gave him? and hath he taken more than his own? and if a pious friend, hath he not removed him to the best advantage? And is it not thy great privilege, after the enjoyment of such an one, in this deplorable world, to live and be with him again, not here, but in a better? Besides, Christian, thou hast neither lost thy God nor thy friend; no, nor yet will they ever lose thee. Thy friend, at the utmost, is but surrendered, not sunk, lent, not lost, and shall be found again with advantage." (*Sermons, &c.* p. 422.)

We will only further quote from two of the letters of Cowper, in which he reasons upon this problem with equal feeling and beauty.

"We see, that Dives is represented, as knowing Lazarus, and Abraham, as knowing them both; and the discourse between them is entirely concerning their respective characters and circumstances upon earth. Here, therefore, our Saviour seems to countenance the notion of a mutual knowledge and recollection: and, if a soul, that has perished, shall know the soul, that is saved, surely the heirs of salvation shall know and recollect each other. In the first epistle to the Thessalonians, the second chapter, and nineteenth verse, St. Paul says, 'What is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? For ye are our glory and our joy.' As to the hope, which the apostle has formed concerning them, he himself refers the accomplishment of it to the coming of Christ, meaning, that then he should receive the recompence of his labours in their behalf. His joy and glory he refers likewise to the same period; both which would result from the sight of such numbers, redeemed by the blessing of God upon his ministration, when he should present them before the great Judge, and say in the words of

a greater than himself, 'Lo, I and the children, whom thou hast given me!' This seems to imply, that the apostle should know the converts, and the converts the apostle, at least at the day of judgment; and if then, why not afterwards? See also the fourth chapter of that epistle, thirteenth, fourteenth, sixteenth verses, which I have not room to transcribe! Here the apostle comforts them under their affliction for their deceased brethren, exhorting them not to sorrow, as without hope: and what is the hope, by which he teaches them to support their spirits? Even this, that them, which sleep in Jesus, shall God bring with him; in other words and by a fair paraphrase surely telling them they are only taken from them for a season, and that they should receive them at the resurrection. The common and ordinary occurrences of life, no doubt, and even the ties of kindred and of all temporal interests will be entirely discarded from amongst that happy society, and possibly even the remembrance of them done away. But it does not therefore follow, that our spiritual concerns even in this life will be forgotten; neither do I think, that they can ever appear trifling to us in any the most distant period of eternity. God, as you say in reference to the scripture, will be all in all. But does not that expression mean, that, being admitted to so near an approach to our heavenly Father and Redeemer, our whole nature, the soul and all its faculties, will be employed in praising and adoring him? Doubtless, however, this will be the case; and, if so, will it not furnish out a glorious theme of thanksgiving to recollect the rock, whence we were hewn, and the hole of the pit, whence we were digged, to recollect the time, when our faith, which under the tuition and nurture of the Holy Spirit has produced such a plentiful harvest of immortal bliss, was, as a grain of mustard-seed, small in itself, promising but little fruit, and producing less, to recollect the various attempts, that were made upon it by the world, the flesh, and the devil, and its various triumphs over all by the assistance of God through our Lord Jesus Christ? At present, whatever our convictions may be of the sinfulness and corruption of our nature, we can make but a very imperfect estimate either of our weakness or our guilt. Then no doubt we shall understand the full value of the wonderful salvation wrought out for us; and it seems reasonable to suppose, that in order to form a just idea of our redemption we shall be able to form a just one of the danger we have escaped. When we know how weak and frail we were, surely we shall be more able to render due praise and honour to his strength, who fought for us. When we know completely the hatefulness of sin in the sight of

God, and how deeply we were tainted by it, we shall know how to value the blood, by which we are cleansed, as we ought. The twenty-four elders in the fifth of the Revelations give glory to God for their redemption out of every kindred, and tongue, and people and nation: This surely implies a retrospect to their respective conditions upon earth, and that each remembered out of what particular kindred and nation he had been redeemed: and if so, then surely the minutest circumstance of their redemption did not escape their memory! Though the redeemed of the Lord shall be sure of being as happy in that state as infinite power, employed by infinite goodness can make them, and therefore, it may seem immaterial, whether we shall or shall not recollect each other hereafter, yet our present happiness at least is a little interested in the question. A parent, a friend, a wife must needs (I think) feel a little heart-ache at the thought of an eternal separation from the objects of her regard: and not to know them, when she meets them in another life, or never to meet them at all, amounts, though not altogether, yet nearly, to the same thing. Remember them (I think) she needs must. To hear, that they are happy, will indeed be no small addition to her own felicity. But to see them so will surely be a greater. Thus at least it appears to our present human apprehension; consequently therefore to think, that when we leave them, we lose them for ever, that we must remain eternally ignorant, whether they, that were flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, partake with us of celestial glory, or are disinherited of their heavenly portion, must shed a dismal gloom over all our present connexions. Friendship is necessary to our happiness here, and, built upon Christian principles, upon which only it can stand, is a thing even of religious sanction: for what is that love, which the Holy Spirit, speaking by St. John, so much inculcates, but friendship, the only love, which deserves the name, a love, which can toil and watch and deny itself, and go to death for its brother? Worldly friendships are a poor weed, compared with this; and even this union of spirit in the bond of peace would suffer, in my mind at least, could I think it were only coeval with our earthly mansions."

We will next produce a short series of extracts on the second question, relative to the intermediate condition of the soul between death and judgment.

Let us first hear the words of the pious Baxter upon this subject.

"The souls of believers do enjoy inconceivable blessedness and glory, even while they remain separated from their bodies. What can be more plain than those words of Paul.—'We are always

confident, knowing, that, whilst we are at home, or rather sojourning, in the body, we are absent from the Lord. For we walk by faith, not by sight. We are confident, I say, and willing rather to be absent from the body and to be present with the Lord?—or those,—‘I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better?’—If Paul had not expected to enjoy Christ till the resurrection, why should he be in a strait, or desire to depart? Nay, should he not have been loth to depart upon the same grounds? For, while he was in the flesh, he enjoyed something of Christ.” (Sermons, p. 413.)

“Faithful souls shall no sooner leave their prisons of flesh; but angels will be their convoy; Christ, with all the perfected spirits of the just, will be their companions; heaven will be their residence, and God their happiness. When such die, they may boldly and believingly say, as Stephen,—‘Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!’—and commend it, as Christ did, into a Father’s hands.

“But though this rest be proper to the saints, yet it is common to all the saints; for it is an association of blessed spirits, both saints and angels; a corporation of perfected saints, whereof Christ is the head; the communion of saints compleated. As we have been together in the labour, duty, danger, and distress, so shall we be in the great recompence and deliverance. As we have been scorned and despised, so shall we be owned and honored together. We, who have gone through the day of sadness, shall enjoy together that day of gladness. Those, who have been with us in persecution and prison, shall be with us also in that palace of consolation. How oft have our groans made, as it were, one sound, our tears one stream, and our desires one prayer? But now all our praises shall make up one melody, all our churches one church, and all ourselves one body; for we shall be all one in Christ, even as he and the Father are one. It is true, we must be careful not to look for that in the saints, which is alone in Christ. But if the forethought of sitting down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven may be our lawful joy, how much more the real sight and actual possession! It cannot choose but be comfortable to think of that day, when we shall join with Moses in his song, with David in his psalms of praise, and with all the redeemed in the song of the Lamb for ever: when we shall see Enoch walking with God, Noah enjoying the end of his singularity, Joseph of his integrity, Job of his patience, Hezekiah of his uprightness, and all the saints the end of their faith. Not only our old acquaintance, but all the saints of all ages, whose faces in the flesh we never shall see, we shall both know and comfortably enjoy. Yea, angels as well as saints, will be our blessed acquaintance.” (Sermons, pp. 417—419.)

Next Bishop Bull shall speak for us, on behalf not only of himself, but of the whole primitive church of Christ.

“I do affirm the consentient and constant doctrine of the primitive church to be this, that the souls of the faithful do immediately after death enter into a place and state of bliss, far exceeding all the felicities of this world, though short of that most consummate perfect

beatitude of the kingdom of heaven, with which they are to be crowned and rewarded in the resurrection; and so, on the contrary, that the souls of all the wicked are, presently after death, in a state of very great misery; and yet, dreading a far greater misery at the day of judgment." (Sermons. P. 19.)

"This discourse is matter of abundant consolation to all good men when death approacheth them. They are sure not only of a blessed resurrection at the last day, but of a reception into a very happy place and state in the mean time. They shall be, immediately after death, put in the possession of paradise, and there rejoice in the certain expectation of a crown of glory, to be bestowed on them at the day of recompence. Fear not, good man, when death comes! For the good angels are ready to receive thy soul, and convey it into Abraham's bosom—a place, wherever it is, of rest; and that not a stupid, insensible rest, but a rest attended with a lively perception of a far greater joy and delight than this whole world can afford; a place of the best society and company, where thou shalt be gathered to the spirits of just men, to the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and Confessors, and familiarly converse with those saints and excellent persons whom thou hast heard of, and admired, and whose examples thou hast endeavored to imitate; a place, that is the rendezvous of the holy angels of God, and which the Son of God himself visits and illustrates with the rays of his glory; a place, where there shall be no wicked man to corrupt or offend thee, no devil to tempt thee, no sinful flesh to betray thee; a place, full of security, where thou shalt be out of all possible danger of being undone and miserable for ever; a place, from whence all sorrow, because all sin, is banished; where there is nothing but joy, and yet more joy still expected. This is the place that death calls thee to. Why, therefore, should thou be afraid of dying? yea, rather, why shouldst thou not, when death calls thee to it, willingly and cheerfully die, desiring to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better." (Sermons. Pp. 22, 23.)

Mr. Serle, in a passage close to that already cited, observes,

"I have lost a child," says another. But ask thou—Who hath found him? Is it not that gracious Redeemer, who called little children unto himself when upon earth, and who gave them the highest benedictions? Hath not this child escaped a thousand evils, and miseries, and sins, which it must have undergone or committed, had it lived longer among the miserable sinners of this world? And doth it not enjoy unutterable happiness with thine own best friend, with whom also thou thyself hopest to live for ever? And is it worthy of thy love to thy child thus excessively to bemoan its deliverance from grief, and its possession of peace?" (Sermons, &c. P. 423.)

Doddridge has a remark of a similar tendency in one of his sermons.

"It is indeed well, if that beloved creature be fallen asleep in Christ; if that dear lamb be folded in the arms of the compassionate Shepherd, and gathered into his gracious bosom. Self-love might have led me

to wish its longer continuance here; but, if I truly loved my child with a solid rational affection, I should much rather rejoice to think it is gone to a heavenly Father, and to the world of perfected spirits above. Had it been spared to me, how slowly could I have taught it, and in the full ripeness of its age what had it been, when compared with what it now is? How is it shot up on a sudden, from the converse and toys of children, to be a companion with saints and angels, in the employment and blessedness of heaven?" (Sermons pp. 232, 233.)

An extract from the sermons of the late Rev. John Venn, conveys the same sentiment with somewhat more of precision.

"By the spirits of the just are meant the souls of the righteous, who, being delivered from the burden of the flesh, subsist in a state of separation from the body in paradise.

"They were once men of like passions with ourselves, assaulted by the same temptations; but they were partakers of the same faith, servants of the same Lord, instructed by the same word, strengthened by the same ordinances, comforted by the same promises, victorious through the same Captain of their salvation. At length they were released from their conflict by death as we shall ere long be; and they joined the glorious assembly of the just, an assembly, in numbers as much surpassing the just now on earth, as it transcends them in purity and holiness, an assembly every year, every day, every hour augmented by the addition of those, who have departed this life in the faith and fear of God.

"They are now *made perfect*.—Their labors are finished.—Their trial is over. Their race is run. They have reached the goal. They have obtained the prize. They are made complete in all virtue and goodness. Here, though sincere, they were imperfect. Their faith was imperfect, their hope, their obedience. But now their faith is accomplished in sight; their hope is swallowed up in enjoyment; their obedience is become perfect holiness. They now have obtained an entire deliverance from all sin and sorrow, from all labour and trouble.—Their bliss is consummated. They possess a felicity, suited to their spiritual nature, commensurate with those higher faculties, with which they are now endowed. Thus they are perfected, though not yet perhaps advanced to the utmost point, at which they will arrive after the general resurrection, and the final consummation of all things." (Sermons pp. 355—357.)

The powerful mind of Horsley has also grappled with the difficulties of this subject; in a masterly sermon from which we transcribe as much as makes directly for our present purpose.

'The invisible mansion of departed spirits, though certainly not a place of penal confinement to the good, is nevertheless in some respects a prison. It is a place of seclusion from the external world, a place of unfinished happiness, consisting in rest, security, and hope, more than enjoyment. It is a place which the souls of men never would have entered, had

not Sin introduced Death, and from which there is no exit by any natural means for those, who once have entered. The deliverance of the saints from it is to be effected by our Lord's power. The invisible mansion of departed souls is to the righteous a place of safe keeping, where they are preserved under the shadow of God's right hand, as their condition sometimes is described in scripture, till the season shall arrive for their advancement to their future glory; as the souls of the wicked on the other hand are reserved in the other division of the same place unto the judgment of the great day. Now Christ went and preached to souls of men thus in prison or in safe keeping. This is a clear confutation of the dismal notion of death, as a temporary extinction of the life of the whole man, or what is no less gloomy and discouraging, the notion of the sleep of the soul in the interval between death and the resurrection.'

Our last extract shall be from Mr. Faber's Treatise on the Three Dispensations. 'The moment that the souls of the faithful are delivered from the burden of the flesh, they are forthwith in joy and felicity. Preserved in the abode of separate spirits, under the safe keeping of their God and their Saviour, they rest from their labours.'

In citing several of these testimonies (it will appear) we have been aided by the editor of the volume which stands first at the head of this article, who however has not made, by any means, the best collection that might be formed.

Before we proceed to notice the other works, under review, we will simply state, that we think that each of the two questions which have been started, may be fully and clearly determined by a single text of scripture. In regard to the first point, the future recognition of those whom death separates, it seems to us to be decided beyond dispute in Luke xiii. 28, where our Lord says,—'There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves thrust out.' For surely if those who are excluded from heaven shall recognise those who are admitted into it, the idea cannot be maintained for a moment, that the saints shall not recognise each other. In regard to the second question, whether the soul in the intermediate state be awake or asleep, whether the departed Christian be in bliss, or in a condition of torpor, like that of frogs in winter, we consider, that our blessed Lord has himself decided it in his memorable answer to the Sadducees, Luke ix. 38,—'The Lord is not a God of the dead, but of the living: for all live unto him.' For, although his object is to prove,

that the dead are raised, the medium, by which he establishes that proof, is, that the dead are even now living; which no one who admits, will any longer dispute about the doctrine of a resurrection. The point, on which the whole argument turns, is this, that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, are alive; for the Lord still calls himself their God; and he is not a God of the dead, but of the living. But he then goes further to assert, that not only the patriarchs, who were objects of especial favour, but all, who are dead to us, live to him: whence, if there be meaning in language or truth in scripture, it is undeniably proved, that all the departed are even now living, and consequently have not undergone any such suspension of their faculties as some speculative dreamers have imagined.

Indeed so clear did the fact of this recognition appear to the author of the *Excursions of a Spirit*, that he has constructed upon it a sort of religious romance, the scene of which is the planetary system, and the actors those who have departed in the faith and fear of God.

The author of *Euthanasia* also is so well satisfied upon the point, that in a thin pamphlet of a hundred and sixty-nine pages, professedly devoted to the state of the soul after death, he feels himself at liberty to prove by a detailed exposition of scripture, that the soul will survive the body, and other points, which are generally taken for granted in this argument.

We acknowledge that we also feel satisfied upon it: and therefore, instead of farther arguing a point, of which (we think) the single text we have quoted affords a demonstration, we will rather proceed to inquire, what further light can be collected upon the state in which the intermediate period between death and judgment will be passed by the departed faithful. We have hitherto only shewn, that it will live. What will be its condition?

On this topic we must first dispose of the views entertained in the *Excursions of a Spirit*. The author represents himself as after death passing into the immediate presence of his relations, who were watching for his departure. The sensations which he experienced at that interesting moment, are not less agreeably expressed than happily imagined.

“The sensation I now instantaneously felt, was as if an immense burden were taken from my shoulders, which had weighed me down to the earth, in consequence of which removal, I hardly seemed any longer to have any tendency to fall, or adhere to the surface of the earth, or floor of the room I was in; and at the same time experienced an immediate freedom from pain, with an accession of spirits and vivacity I had never any idea of before. The transition however from the pangs of death to immortal life, was so great, that in a few moments’

time I became, as it were, entranced; from which when I began to recover, I found myself in the open air, surrounded by my beloved and much-lamented father, and some other deceased relatives, who seemed exactly to coincide with the ideas my imagination had retained of them. They immediately welcomed me, in the tenderest manner, to the ethereal regions; and a thousand times welcome were they all to me. In mutual and ecstatic gratulations we continued, till at length on my feeling my aerial frame rather overpowered by the sudden change and multiplicity of new objects, my attendants, forming a close and compact circle around me, fled with astonishing rapidity, bearing me with them through the air, and, suddenly descending, placed me in a delightful arbour, upon a bed of flowers, the fragrance of which was infinitely greater than I had ever experienced in my mortal state, and seemed so to invigorate me, that I no longer felt in the least exhausted." (Excursions, p. 9—11.)

It will be at once seen from this extract, that the author of the vision imagines the souls of the departed to be engaged in watching the path of survivors. They are therefore still inhabitants of our world, though unseen, and minister to the weaknesses and wants of those, who are not aware of the presence of these aerial visitants. This, however, is not their only occupation. Our author represents them, as further employed in compleating an acquaintance with this globe, making researches into all its curiosities, observing the inventions of men, studying their history, listening to their music, and acting in short the part of universal spectators: besides which, they have their own daily meetings for prayer and praise, and also their periodical assemblies for more solemn acts of devotion in those parts of the earth, where they are free from the interruption of mortal flesh and blood, namely at the poles. We must let the author here again describe his own vision.

"We now continued our flight due north, over the frozen ocean, and large fields of ice, till at length we discovered what I took for the northern polar continent, but was told it was a zone of ice, extending all round it, beyond which, as the sun was then constantly above the horizon, without setting, (the ice gradually diminishing in substance towards the pole) there was a narrow smooth sea. Having reached this, we soon discovered the shores of the continent, the appearance of which, as we more nearly approached it, was more beautifully variegated than I could have conceived.

"When we, at last, alighted there, I could not help reflecting on the vanity and ignorance of mortals, in attempting to penetrate into the polar regions, which I was now convinced they never could fully accomplish with all their perseverance and courage, as the zone of ice must always form an unsurmountable barrier as long as the world endures.

"Having spent some time in refreshing ourselves upon the shores

of this continent, and in inhaling the delightful fragrance of its herbage, &c. my father proposed our proceeding quite to the pole, in order to see the phenomena peculiar to that region. Accordingly we took our flight over the most beautiful and delightful country I had then seen, abounding with every variety that nature could bestow, and replenished with an infinite number of happy spirits, reposing, or amusing themselves in different groups, or parties, whilst others were moving in various directions, any of whom we joined, as we felt inclined, there being, in the world of spirits, no previous ceremonies to undergo, nor formal introduction requisite; all considering themselves as one great, united family, and always ready to commune with each other.

“On approaching the pole, we at length descried a hill of a blue pale colour, at no great distance, as I thought, but which I was informed was considerably farther off than it appeared to be, it being an exceeding high mountain, situated exactly at the north pole. The nearer we came to this, the greater we found the concourse of spirits, many of whom were spread all over the sides of the mountain, which was of gentle acclivity, amongst the most delightful groves imaginable; the verdure being also of a beautiful green to the very summit, whereon we finally alighted.

“Here, situated upon the pivot, as it were, upon which the earth revolved, we admired the extensive prospect from it, which was grand beyond conception; for, there being in this delightful region, at least during the summer solstice, no clouds or gross vapours, to intercept, distort, or obscure the most distant objects, the boundary of it was only limited by the horizontal line, which, from the extreme height of the mountain, seemed to be at an immense distance; the intermediate space, every way, consisting of the greatest variety of hill and dale, grove and plain, land and water, that could be imagined.

“When first we landed upon this continent, the sun was not many degrees above the horizon, and although it did not set, yet it was then considerably higher at noon than at night. But, as we advanced towards the pole it became higher and higher, and the two extremes of altitude came nearer together, till at length, on arriving near the polar mountain, it preserved an equal altitude above the horizon throughout the whole diurnal rotation of the earth, seeming to describe a circle in the heavens, parallel to the horizon, as the earth revolved upon its axis.

“It being here continual day for six months together, with perpetual sunshine, unobscured by clouds or vapours; the distinction of day and night is not known, the spirits taking their refreshment, or sleep, just as they feel inclined; retiring into some grove, arbour, or grotto, and chanting their hymns of praise, as they awake, in such parties as may happen to associate for the purpose, at the time. Three times, however, in every solstice, the whole body of spirits then on the continent assemble around the polar mountain; namely, when the sun first appears above the horizon, when it is at its greatest height, and just before it sinks below the horizon again; at each of which

times they all join together in returning thanks to their Almighty Creator for the bliss they enjoy.

"I could not help remarking the great advantage of there being no longer any distinction of nations and languages; as this immense multitude of spirits, although originally from every habitable part of the globe, yet all now joined in one universal language, formed from all the languages of the earth; so that we could now reciprocally make ourselves understood to each other, and become, as it were, literally "citizens of the world." (Excursions. Pp. 57—74.)

These however are occupations, not formed for perpetuity. After a certain period, when the near connexions of any spirit have quitted this mortal scene, and either joined their society, or, if not admitted to that blessed communion, become totally invisible to them, it seems, that the disembodied travellers become desirous of extending their discoveries; and our author actually provides them with means of accommodation, by which they may transport themselves from planet to planet, through a great part of the solar system. He has even drawn a chart of the system with the appendage of certain transparent satellites, which, unlike their opaque neighbours, and without reference to the theory of gravitation, revolve in ellipses round no material centre of attraction; by means of which the flight of souls is helped from orb to orb, the general rendezvous of happy spirits being in the planet Venus, while the condemned are consigned to Mercury, and Mars is the abode of the souls of other animals. With respect to the more distant planets, the author represents Saturn as peopled with creatures, like ourselves, in a state of probation, who afterwards are either frozen in the Georgian, or cheered in Jupiter, till the day of judgment, when the whole system is to be consumed together.

At the close of the volume the author makes the following "recapitulation of the several enjoyments of blessed spirits, mentioned at large in the foregoing pages.

"1st, The abolition of the several evils of human life, comprised under the general denominations of sin, guilt, pain, sickness, labour, imprisonment, slavery, poverty, the infirmity of age and others, with the attainment and uninterrupted enjoyment of their opposite blessings, innocence, a clear conscience, ease, quiet, liberty, health, and perpetual vigour, accompanied with a certainty of their future increase, and of their continuance for ever and ever.

"2ndly, The enjoyment of pure and genuine friendship, meeting with former acquaintance, and associating with kindred spirits.

"3rdly, The complete gratification of every kind of laudable curiosity in the acquisition of the knowledge of the ancient and modern history of the different nations of the earth; of the greater political events passing in the world below; of the true theory of the earth and pla-

nets of our system; and in a full display of the grand scheme of Providence, as developed in the prophetic system.

"4thly, The pleasure of traversing the whole earth without fatigue or inconvenience; with the idea and anticipation of exploring the whole of the planetary and cometary worlds.

"5thly, The enjoyment of melody, harmony, poetry, and of all the innocent and laudable arts and sciences in their fullest perfection.

"6thly, The anticipated happiness of meeting, in due time, and becoming acquainted with the spirits of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, &c. with the expectation of seeing our Blessed Saviour at his second advent." (Excursions. Pp. 204, 205.)

In a vision of this kind fancy is of course indulged without restraint: and it would be unfair to subject its speculations to any very rigorous scrutiny. Yet, since the author reasons upon them himself, as though he regarded them as something more than a reverie, and as having in them some intrinsic probability or truth, we have judged it right to give the foregoing sketch of his notions upon the subject.

Mr. Gisborne is satisfied with the idea of mutual recognition, and does not enter into other particulars. One passage we will quote from his pages.

"Christian friends, reunited in the realms above, shall meet one another with complete and lively consciousness of their reciprocal attachment upon earth; and with such recollections of the incidents of their mortal intercourse, as shall enhance the blessedness of eternity. This is the suggestion of reason: this is the testimony of the Scriptures.

"How mercifully vouchsafed, and how wisely calculated are these assurances from the Supreme Disposer of our lot, to console his true servants, when they behold a beloved companion, also his true servant, declining under the pressure of sickness, or deposited in the grave! The loss is no longer for eternity. The suspension of intercourse is but for the remainder of the life of the survivor. The individual removed is the forerunner of those who remain. He has reached the end of his journey a little sooner than his fellow travellers: and is awaiting them at the place of repose, towards which they are every moment advancing. Let the bereaved mourner persevere in his religious path, and the severed ties shall be rejoined. The restored connection shall be indissoluble. Misapprehension, competition, coolness, vicissitude, doubt, fear, are no more. The sun of affection shall no more be dimmed by earthly mists and exhalations. It shines for ever with increasing lustre, pure as the new heavens in which it is enthroned. United feelings, associated pursuits, conjoined admiration of the works of God, participated delight in his dispensations, blend the renewed attachments into continually augmented firmness. The blessedness of one friend becomes the blessedness of the rest. The bliss of all is enlarging itself by reciprocity through never-ending ages." (Gisborne, p. 85—87.)

Dr. Booker, the author of *Euthanasia*, argues in the manner following.

"In the parable of Dives and Lazarus, absolute *recognition* and *remembrance* are asserted. Dives *recollects* Lazarus, and solicits the boon of his kindness: and the father of the faithful tells him to *remember* one cause of the vast difference then existing between their respective destinies. He, no doubt, well remembered it, together with his impious and improper conduct: for we find him *actuated* by such recollection, *full of anxiety* about the fate of his surviving brethren, 'lest they also come into that place of torment.' If the spirits of the dead, therefore, forget not the living, nor past transactions, as in this instance was evidently the case, we must believe that the soul, immediately after the death of the body, is *not* in a state of insensibility. Here there is evidence from Scripture of two departed persons whose souls were in two very different states indeed!—the one in a state of happiness—the other in a state of misery: the one comforted—the other tormented.

"What Jesus Christ here taught in parables, he also, plainly asserts as fact. How else are we to construe these words, where speaking of his Almighty Father, he says, 'He is the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob—not the God of the dead, but of the living?' The soul of Abraham, we have just seen, in the parable, is represented as living; while his body, as the Jews truly asserted, was dead, 'his sepulchre being with them unto the day' when they made the assertion. The body of Moses also is dead; yet the soul or spirit of Moses, many hundred years after his dissolution, was seen alive, by some of the disciples, on the mount, conversing with Jesus, when 'he was transfigured before them,' in a manner too glorious for us to conceive.

"Jesus also asserts it, as a fact, in his dying agonies. What other construction can we put upon these words, addressed by him to the penitent malefactor, who implored his gracious remembrance on the cross.—'To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.'" (Booker, pp. 57—59.)

"In precisely the same sense are we to understand St. Paul, where he says, 'Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death. For to me, to live is Christ, and to die is gain; yet, what I shall chuse, I wot not; *having a desire to depart and to be with Christ*.' Is it likely that the apostle would feel a desire to depart out of life, to a state of non-existence? Nay, more—in *such* a state he could not 'be with Christ,' whom he knew to have arisen from the dead, and to be possessed of 'all power, both in heaven and in earth;' and therefore fully 'able to keep what should be committed unto him, till the great and final day.' When Christ told the dying penitent that he should, on the day of his departure, be with him in paradise, he evidently meant that his *soul* or spirit should be there, not his *body*: which, no doubt, like that of the Redeemer, remained a mangled spectacle upon earth, till interment hid it from the sight of men. The imperishable part of the sufferer, therefore, on its quitting the lifeless

frame, went to paradise. It must not be forgotten, that St. Paul was the only person ever permitted to form, from actual vision, a true idea of what paradise is; having been 'caught up' to witness its unspeakable blessedness. For a state of blessedness it must be, or he would not have felt 'a desire to depart,' that he might share the fruition of it: and it must be of a nature indescribably awful and glorious, or the apostle would not have declared that he there saw things, which it is not lawful (i. e. possible) for man to utter: things, which no mortal eye, save his own, hath seen, no other human ear hath heard, neither can it enter into the heart of man to conceive.

"The same apostle, encouraging the persecuted followers of his blessed Master to constancy in the faith, by the hope of the gospel, reminds them of 'the spirits of just men made perfect' to whose society they were, in glorious anticipation, united. But, if there be no such spirits existing, the apostle was not authorized to name them, which no humble Christian will believe.

"Yet, happy as this intermediate state undoubtedly is, that a full fruition of happiness will not take place, till the soul and body shall be reunited at the general judgment, we may reasonably infer, from the great importance of the doctrine of the resurrection. The counsels of Divine Providence, with respect to the great family of the human race, will then, and not till then, be complete. The long-separated constituent parts of man—his soul and his body—then refashioned into a perfect being, like the sinless person of the Redeemer, to die no more, must be susceptible of a degree of felicity, far surpassing any thing that could be enjoyed by the spirit alone, in its separate state." (Booker, pp. 60—63.)

Having thus collected the sentiments of others, such at least as may be presumed to embody the prevailing opinion of the present day, on the question proposed, we will now state what appears to us to be the amount of scriptural testimony concerning that intermediate portion of human existence, which is to elapse between death and judgment.

In the first place we agree with the author of *Euthanasia*, that the fable of the rich man and Lazarus clearly intimates a perfect recollection of ourselves and others, and not only that, but an immediate entrance into a state of reward or punishment, suitable to our previous character. It is true, indeed, that it is a parable. But let the parables of our Saviour be examined; and it will be found, that, though the incidents are fictitious, they are all possible. They are adapted to a state of things actually existing, and do not refer to either places or conditions, that are merely imaginary. The scene of the good deed of the Samaritan traveller is delineated with scrupulous exactness. The circumstances connected with the marriage of the nobleman's son, and the departure of the chief to another country, to receive the royal dignity from a foreign court and return, are all borrowed from known

practices: and if such was our Saviour's habit, if, when he invented incidents, he uniformly refrained from inventing scenes and manners and conditions of being likewise, why should we fancy, that he departed from that habit in the single instance of the parable to which we are now alluding? All worlds were alike under his eye; and, whether he chose to lay the scene of his parable in this world, or in paradise, or in heaven, or in the infernal regions, the state of all these, and of all other parts of creation, were equally familiar to him, and the imagined distance of the scene affords not the slightest cause for supposing, that he did not adhere in this, as he did in all other cases, to the reality of nature. We therefore conclude, that here also the incidents are imaginary, but that the scene and its circumstances are all according to truth.

Now Campbell has well drawn out the geography, if we may so call it, of this interesting story. The scene of it is Hades or the general repository of unembodied spirits, divided into two parts, one for the departed faithful, the other for the wicked, but separated from each other by a deep gulf or precipitous valley, which cannot be passed. Such is the picture of the scene, sketched by our blessed Lord; and, though the scene itself may be unearthly, and by consequence the description rather symbolical than literal, such (we may presume) is the nearest idea which in our present state we can form, of its situation and accompaniments. It is only to be added, that the particular place of custody for the spirits of the faithful, is sometimes called Paradise, while the word Hell or Hades, comprehends both that and the prison-house of the wicked.

Let us then observe, what is the condition of the justified spirit immediately on its quitting the body! It is at once carried by angels into Abraham's bosom. Therefore it instantly becomes capable of knowing Abraham, and of deriving inexpressible bliss from his intercourse and affectionate regard. But it is probable, that the name of Abraham is here introduced, only as the federal head of the Israelitish church, and consequently, as the typical representative of our Lord himself, the head of the true or Christian church; and if so, we learn from the parable this delightful truth, that the souls of the faithful enter into communion with Christ himself, or, as St. Paul expresses his own hope and conviction, are with Christ; which is far better than the nearest and most intimate earthly communion with him. How cheering a thought, to pass instantly from this poor scene of conflict and hope to the bosom of Christ, the favored place of the beloved disciple,

the very situation with respect to Christ himself, which is chosen by Saint John to represent the intimacy of our Lord's own relation to the Father.

While, therefore, the past is there remembered, the present enjoyed, the future anticipated, while the souls of all the servants of God are at once known to each other, and united in that indissoluble bond of love, which is formed in Christ Jesus, the presence of Christ himself must be the controlling idea in all our conceptions of that intermediate blessedness. This will exclude several incorrect notions.

First, they, which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage. Although, therefore, the husband will know the wife, and the wife the husband, the father the son, and the son the father, they will no longer recognise each other in those relations, except as they are reflected in the glass of memory, but simply, as fellow-heirs of glory, and partners in the love of Christ; and their affection for each other, though endeared by many recollections of the past, being rooted and grounded exclusively in their common love and admiration of the redeemer, will be proportioned rather to their respective attainments in Christian holiness, than to their own private, partial, and personal regard. Their mutual love will be perfect, and will, therefore, infinitely surpass the most perfect affection felt on earth. But yet it will have lost that element of earthly affection, namely, its exclusive nature, which is necessary to our condition here, and will admit an universal partnership, becoming in some measure, like that of the great Redeemer himself, irrespective of persons; not indeed entirely so,—far from it; for it is probable, that our knowledge, however enlarged, will still be imperfect, and the degree of our love will assuredly bear some proportion to the extent of our knowledge; which is a sufficient foundation for the continuance of that endearing preference, by which earthly relations are linked together.

Secondly, this consideration will also exclude that interest in the indulgence of mere curiosity, which is supposed by the author of the *Spiritual Vision*. The angels indeed desire to look into the things that concern our redemption; and so doubtless do the happy spirits which are made happy. Every thing which belongs to the glory, the greatness, the excellence of Christ Jesus, will be most interesting to the departed Christian; and the condition of human nature, as connected with that plan, the development of prophecy, the triumphs of grace, will doubtless occupy its delighted attention, and draw largely upon its inexhaustible stores of grati-

tude. But the mere manners of nations, their localities, and amusements, which are now vanity, and will soon be nothing, will be to them like the forgotten pleasures of the nursery. The mind will be engaged in higher contemplations; and its enlarged powers will not find any theme so grateful to it as that in the Revelation,—“Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred and tongue, and people and nation, and hast made us unto our God kings and priests.”

Thirdly, this consideration includes entire exemption from sin and from temptation. To the earthly body of our Lord the tempter approached; but he will not venture near his glorified frame. He, who is in the bosom of Christ, will be free from temptation as well as from sin. He will thus have come unto Christ; and he will give him rest. That rest will be beatitude, and will consequently exclude those restless desires of amusement, which here accompany and indicate imperfection. The repose of the soul indeed will not be inactive. It will rest from sin and from the uneasy fretfulness of forbidden desire. But it will converse with objects of high and holy interest, and without seeking to roam for the mere love of seeing, will fully realize the anticipations of the expiring Christian, when

“Ætheria jamdudum in luce vagari

Mens avert, indigenisque Deum specularier astris.”

Yet these spirits, though in bliss, are still but waiting in silent expectation for the glory of that day, which shall invite them to enter into the joy of their Lord, the presence of the Father, the sight and enjoyment of God. But we refrain. The things which were both heard and seen by the apostle in paradise, it is impossible for a man to utter; and beyond it eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have the things, which God hath prepared for them that love him, entered into the heart of man. It is sufficient that we are allowed to catch a few glimpses of that promised glory, the full vision of which would be too bright for mortal eye. It is sufficient (nay, it is, if we will receive it, even present happiness) to know, that the true believer passes instantly into the presence of his Redeemer, carries with him a recollection of all those friends, who are fellow-heirs with him of the same blessedness, but leaves, as they have left, all imperfection, all ill will, distrust, dislike, and every form of reserve and uneasiness, with all guilt and misery, at an infinite distance behind him.

These are anticipations, which it is lawful, because it is profitable, to indulge: and if they be drawn from us, what will the infidel or the worldling substitute in their place? A blank, nay, rather, a blot.

But we willingly turn from this last consideration to notice briefly a few other topics, which occur in one of the volumes under review.

Mr. Gisborne among his *Essays* has included a few short papers, written in a plain and simple style, on the value of the Bible, and on other kindred subjects, well adapted for charitable circulation.

Another series is devoted to the right use of prophecy, which the author pronounces to be equally remote, so far as the unfulfilled part of it is concerned, from unprofitable or presumptuous minuteness of investigation and from that abandonment of the subject, which would defeat one of the main ends designed by it. On this last point we will quote his own just and sensible remarks:—

“The other erroneous opinion to which I have alluded, is the following: that anticipatory investigation of future events does not lie within the province of prophetic study; that the business of the Christian as to the subjects of predictions, is simply to wait until the foretold events shall have taken place. Then, by comparing the accomplishment with the prediction, shall he strengthen himself in his holy faith; and learn to adore with augmented reverence the Omniscent Wisdom of the Most High.

“These sentiments are not unfrequently entertained by persons of devout minds; and are confirmed in such minds by the multiplicity of jarring interpretations with which expositors have bewildered their readers. I apprehend, however, that the opinion may be decisively shown to be destitute of foundation.

“Let it be, in the first place, considered, that this opinion, if just, would nearly, or altogether, nullify one of the great practical purposes for which, as already has been evinced, prophetic revelations were vouchsafed; namely, to excite and enable men to prepare themselves beforehand for the arrival of the events announced.” (Gisborne, pp. 201, 202.)

“Another argument remains to be stated. Meditation, properly conducted, on unaccomplished prophecy appears to be one of the appointed and most efficacious methods, by which the Christian Church is to be defended against the delusiveness of false expositions.” (Ib. pp. 211, 212.)

“On the whole, the course of discussion which has been pursued seems to have conducted us safely to the two following inferences: That all prophetic investigations are uniformly to be carried forward in a spirit of deep and humble piety, with sober discretion, with patient study, with freedom from prepossession, with a simple love of truth, with entire readiness to abandon, on better evidence and information, conclusions previously adopted: and, that with these qualifications, and under these restrictions, researches into prophecy fulfilled and unfulfilled are lawful, and form a constituent part of the duty of the Church of Christ.” (Ib. pp. 213, 214.)

One of the essays relates to the “little book” in the Apoca-

lypse; into the minute discussion of which we cannot now enter; and without minute discussion little profit can be gained from entering into the subject at all, since but little justice can be done to it. We may hereafter revert to these Essays, which are written in a sober spirit, but with much acuteness of observation, if the further investigation of sacred prophecy should be brought within the scope of our critical labours. At present we will simply observe, that, although we are not prepared to accede to every interpretation advanced, in this series, we think, that much light is thrown by it on various parts of the prophetic Scriptures, and that the proof, which it contains, that the seventh head of the beast represents the Gothic empire in Italy, appears to be complete.

ART. XXII.—NEGRO SLAVERY.

1. *An Appeal to the Religion, Justice, and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire, in behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies*; by William Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. 1823. London. Hatchards. 8vo. pp. 77.
2. *A Counter Appeal, in answer to an Appeal from William Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. designed to prove that the Emancipation of the Negroes in the West Indies, by a Legislative Enactment, without the consent of the Planters, would be a flagrant breach of National Honour, hostile to the principles of Religion, Justice, and Humanity, and highly injurious to the Planter, and to the Slave*; by Sir Henry William Martin, Bart. 1823. London. Rivingtons. 8vo. pp. 52.
3. *A Voice from Jamaica, in reply to William Wilberforce, Esq. M. P.* by the Rev. George Wilson Bridges, A. B. 1823. London. Longman and Co. 8vo. pp. 56.

SIXTEEN years have elapsed since Great Britain abolished the Slave Trade. Long and arduous was the conflict, before this triumph of justice and humanity over sordid and unfeeling avarice was achieved. Many and disgraceful were the shifts and evasions by which the traffickers in human blood, and their abettors in and out of Parliament, sought to defeat or delay that measure, which the honour and justice, no less than the religion and humanity of the country, demanded. When at length the victory was obtained by the passing of that act, which was to terminate our crimes and our infamy as slave-dealers, it is not surprising, that it should diffuse joy and call forth mutual congratulations among those, who had

been engaged in the hard-fought battle. Many a defeat had preceded the triumph, and many a noble combatant had fallen before it was obtained. No wonder, then, that the survivors should exult, and prepare, at their ease, to contemplate and enjoy the fruits of their successful struggle. Very soon, however, did they see reason to apprehend, that their victory was less complete than they had supposed, and that further measures were necessary to guard against the surreptitious introduction of slaves into the Colonies. The temptations to this crime were too powerful, and the facilities to the commission of it too great, and the evil itself was too deeply rooted in the West Indian system, to be easily eradicated. It became apparent, therefore, almost immediately, that the abolition-law would prove little more than a dead letter, without continued vigilance on the part of those who had procured it; nay, that it would have the effect of aggravating the hardships and misery of the captured Africans, by the necessity which it imposed on the slave dealers, in order to avoid detection, to cram their unhappy victims into the smallest possible space, and to keep them closely confined during their passage to the West Indies. Hence the necessity of the Registry Bill, the violent opposition to which, on the part of the West Indians, was not much calculated to remove the imputation under which they labored, of still trafficking in slaves: for, on the supposition of an honest intention to observe the abolition law, there was not a shadow of reason for opposing this measure. The resistance offered to it, obviously under the most frivolous pretences, and the keen and bitter animosity, manifested by the Planters to its advocates, have been, however, attended with this important effect, that public attention has been drawn anew to the West Indian system, and to the actual condition of the slaves in our Colonies.

During the discussions in Parliament on the Slave Trade, it was allowed on all hands, that a change in the treatment of the slaves was absolutely necessary. Even the advocates of the Planters admitted the necessity of an amelioration in this respect: and the late Lord Melville, then Mr. Dundas, the leader of those advocates, in bringing forward his plan of gradual abolition, calculated upon the elevating effect on the character and habits of the slaves, which this improved treatment would produce. Of course, then, after the lapse of so many years, the public were entitled to expect, and actually did expect, a material alteration for the better, in the condition of the Negroes. Now what has been the result of examination and inquiry into this subject? The result has been this, the appalling discovery, that no substantial improvement

has taken place; that notwithstanding the occurrences of the last thirty years, notwithstanding the professions and pledges of the West Indians, the slaves are, at the present moment, the same wretched, demoralized, and degraded beings as in the year 1788, when the cry of their misery first reached the ear of the Legislature. This fact, a most fearful one for those on whom the responsibility falls, has recently come before the view of the public, both in and out of Parliament; and the most distinct proofs of it have been adduced.

From the various statements on this subject, we present the following particulars concerning the actual condition of the Negro population in our Colonies.

The number of Slaves amounts to upwards of Eight Hundred Thousand. They are the absolute property of the master, who, to mark his property in them, usually brands his initials on some conspicuous part of their body, with a hot iron, as in this country we serve our sheep. He regulates, within certain limits, the measure of their food, their labour, and their punishment; and possesses the power, without control, of selling them, or of transferring his right in them to any other person. Nay more, being, in the eye of the colonial law, mere chattels, they are liable to be seized in execution for his debts, and, like the other parts of his stock, to be sold by public auction to the highest bidder, who may remove them where he pleases, even to a different island, without regard to the family ties which may be broken by so cruel a procedure. They are, for the most part, employed in field labour; and, are driven to their work, both male and female, by the lash of the cart-whip. By the sound of the whip they are summoned to their work in the morning, and under the terror of it they labor through the day. Their labour commences at an early hour, and, with an interval for breakfast and dinner, continues until night; and, in the season of crop, which lasts for four or five months in the year, it is further carried on during either the half of every night, or the whole of every alternate night. For this labour they receive no wages. They are provided with coarse and scanty clothing, with a hut in which to shelter themselves at night, when not obliged to work, and with a small portion of food, not sufficient for their support. To make up the deficiency, they are obliged to cultivate a piece of ground allotted to them for the purpose; and for the cultivation of this, the only day allowed them is the Sunday. They are liable to be punished to the extent of thirty-nine lashes, by the master or his delegate, at his discretion, for any offence, or for no offence. These lashes are inflicted on the naked body, with a cart-

whip, an instrument of dreadful severity. Even females are not exempted, but, equally with the men, are liable to be thus indecently exposed, and cruelly lacerated, at the caprice of the owner or his overseer. To this corporal punishment, the imprisonment of the stocks may be added, and that for any length of time which the overseer may direct. Further, their evidence is not admitted in the courts of justice, in any case in which the interest of a person of free condition is affected; a circumstance, which completely excludes them from the protection of the law, it being obvious that a white man may commit any atrocity against them with impunity, provided he only take care that no free person be a witness of it. To this grievous enumeration, another hardship is to be added, viz. that, even those of them, who may have obtained their freedom, are liable to be seized and treated as runaway slaves, and again sold and consigned to interminable bondage, unless they can establish their freedom in a legal manner; it being an universal principle of the colonial law, that every black or colored person is presumed to be a slave, unless he can legally prove the contrary, which it is difficult, and sometimes impossible, to do, under the circumstances of the case.*

* The only exceptions to the above statement are the following:—1st. In Tobago, night-work, as appears from a letter from Mr. President Campbell, has been abolished.—2dly. In Honduras, the slaves are entirely fed by their proprietors, and are not obliged to cultivate a patch of ground, to raise food for themselves and family. For their labour on Saturday, they are entitled to half-a-dollar; and Sunday is entirely their own.—3dly. In Dominica, the testimony of slaves is admitted in courts of justice, in certain cases in which they have received injury from white persons. We subjoin an extract from the Act of the Dominica Legislature on this subject, that our readers may have a specimen of West Indian Legislation.

“Be it enacted, That from and after the publication of this Act, any white person or free person of colour, who shall beat, maim, wound, or ill-treat any slave or slaves, the property of another person, or persons, or deprive such slave of his property, on complaint being made thereof by the owner of such slave, or his representative, to any justice of the peace, and the slave being produced, and the marks of the blows or wounds being exhibited before any of his majesty's justices of the peace, such justice shall, and he is hereby empowered, authorised, and required, should he deem the complaint sufficiently founded, to summon the party so accused before him, and to examine him on oath; and on his refusal to be examined, such contumacy shall be construed an admission of the fact; and thereupon to find any such white or free person of colour, charged with such offence, to appear at the next ensuing court of grand sessions of the peace, then and there to answer the charge alleged against him, the said justice having previously examined upon oath such slave (should he have been baptised) and duly explained and ascribed to him the nature and solemnity of an oath; which examination the justice shall return with the recognisance to the clerk of the court, prior to the sitting of such court; and on the parties appearing before the court, the testimony of any slaves who may have been present (they having been baptised) shall be received, as far as it shall appear clear and consistent in the opinion of the court. Provided always, nevertheless, that no white person or free person of colour shall be convicted of any of the

Such is the present miserable condition of 800,000 human beings, our fellow creatures, flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone, differing in no respect from ourselves, except that an African sun has burnt a darker colour in their skin: such is their condition: and such, as the law now stands, is to be the inheritance of their children for ever.

That a system of this kind should be tolerated for so many years, a system of such obvious injustice and cruel oppression, so inconsistent with our principles as Britons, and with our profession as Christians, can only be accounted for by the generally prevailing ignorance of its real nature. Let it once be exhibited in its proper colours to the country! Only let its frightful features be exposed! and the disgust and hatred which it will inspire will be deep and universal. Soon will the public voice be heard from one end of the empire to the other, sympathizing with the wretched victims of slavery, and calling for a speedy termination of their sufferings. We rejoice that the work of exposure has commenced. It has commenced with him, who has long been the friend and the advocate of the African race, and who is now a veteran in the cause. With unabated ardour, with all his wonted ability, and with that touching eloquence, of which both friends and foes have acknowledged the force, he has again come forward in behalf of our oppressed and too long neglected slave population. In a strain of manly reasoning, and in an appeal which (we dare venture to predict) every unprejudiced mind will feel to be resistless, he demands for them such an amelioration of their condition, as was contemplated by all parties at the time of the abolition, and to which the planters then stood pledged; such an amelioration as will ultimately lead to the abolition of slavery itself.

Mr. Wilberforce opens his publication with the following solemn and affecting address.

To all the inhabitants of the British Empire, who value the favour of God, or are alive to the interests or honour of their country; to all, who have any respect for justice, or any feelings of humanity, I would solemnly address myself. I call upon them, as they shall hereafter answer, in the great day of account, for the use they shall have made of any power, or influence with which Providence may have entrusted them, to employ their best endeavours, by all lawful and consti-

offences aforesaid, on the testimony of any slaves, unless two of the said slaves at least, do freely and consistently agree with each other, and depose to the same fact, act, or circumstance: and also unless the said slaves are examined apart, and out of the hearing of each other: and provided also, that no person shall be convicted on the testimony of any slaves, for any of the offences aforesaid, unless the same shall be prosecuted within twelve months after the commission thereof.

tutional means, to mitigate, and, as soon as it may be safely done, to terminate the negro slavery of the British Colonies, a system of the grossest injustice, of the most heathenish irreligion and immorality, of the most unprecedented degradation, and unrelenting cruelty." (P. 12)

The strong language in the concluding sentence of this paragraph has given great offence to the West Indians. To represent their system of slavery as one of "the most unprecedented degradation, and unrelenting cruelty," is, they say, calumnious. In a speech attributed to the late Mr. Marryat, then member for Sandwich, it is asserted that this representation of West Indian slavery has been refuted by various official reports recently received from the colonies. Our readers will probably be curious to know the nature of the reports alluded to by this honorable gentleman. They will expect, perhaps, to hear of some delightful revolution in the colonial laws, and in the conduct of the planters towards the slaves; such as, that they are no longer liable to be sold, like mere farming utensils, that they are no longer driven to work with the lash, that the females can no longer be indecently exposed, and cruelly lacerated with the cart-whip, and that the Sunday is allowed them for a day of rest and religious instruction. But it is no such thing. It is merely a repetition of the old story, which the parliament and the country heard so often on the same authority in the years 1790 and 1791, that the slaves were better clothed and fed, and in every respect better circumstanced than the laboring class in this country. Such was the evidence, given at the bar of the House of Commons by a long list of admirals and of governors of Colonies, when examined at that time respecting the condition of the slaves. Their testimony was much stronger than any adduced on the present occasion. Some of them even went the length of stating, that they envied the condition of the slaves. Now none of Mr. Marryat's witnesses have gone so far as this, although nearly thirty years have elapsed, since that testimony was given, all of which (we are assured) have been years of progressive amelioration in the condition of the slaves.

But to form a correct estimate of the import and value of the official reports, referred to by Mr. Marryat, they should be viewed, not in detached portions, as he has quoted them, but as entire documents; and in connexion also with the station and pursuits of their respective authors. This latter circumstance, more especially, should not be overlooked. If their authors be not disinterested parties, their testimony is of little value, however respectable their character may be; as it is notorious, that our own interest gives a bias even to

the most upright mind, which unfits it for investigating and judging with the accuracy, of which we should otherwise be capable. On this principle two of the parties, from whom these reports have proceeded, are disqualified, as witnesses, viz. the President of Tobago, and the Assembly of Jamaica, theirs being the testimony of planters.

The evidence of one of the parties referred to by Mr. Marryat, we shall give entire, as it appears in the honorable gentleman's speech. It is that of Sir Ralph Woodford, governor of Trinidad, and is as follows.

"To proprietors of slaves, as to mankind in general, no incentive can be so great as their own interest. It is not in their power now to replace a slave whose physical powers are exhausted by a short service: therefore the value of a slave of good character is greatly enhanced beyond the value of his ordinary appraisement; and proportionate efforts are made to keep up his natural health and vigour. The comforts of the slaves depend upon themselves and their own industry, and their health upon their own imprudences, or the quantum of work they are required to perform. They can, if they choose, with very little trouble, amass much beyond the wants of their utmost ambition or profligacy; but the idle and drunken, (of which there are many) will always be in poverty and in rags. I have frequently known cases of negroes preferring to continue slaves, rather than, with ample means, to purchase their freedom, or even to accept it. With a humane owner the negro is most happy; and, as a slave, and when sick, he always shares the fare of the owner's table."

We present this fragment of an official report, as a real curiosity. It will be found unique in its kind, whether we examine the reasoning, the assertions, or the facts which it presents. "To proprietors of slaves," Sir Ralph Woodford says, "as to mankind in general, no incentive can be so great as their own interest." If he means by this, that persons uniformly act, as a right view of their own interest would dictate, his position is overturned by every day's experience. For, in the first place, we commonly observe persons taking a mistaken view of their own interest, and, under such mistaken view, pursuing courses highly injurious to it: and next, it often happens, that in cases, where we rightly understand our own interest, and clearly discern the line which we should take to secure it, a strong temptation, or a violent impulse of passion, will carry us along in the very opposite direction. But even though we were to allow the soundness of this position, it proves nothing to the purpose, except in those cases in which it is clear that the master's interest is on the

side of humanity to his slaves. Let us suppose a case of a different kind, a case, in which, on making a calculation, it shall appear to the master, that to overwork and underfeed his slaves for a certain period, even though at the end of that period they should be much deteriorated in value, would bring in more gain than could arise from the better treatment, which humanity would dictate. Here is a case, in which it is obvious his interest would be on the side of inhumanity; a case in which, according to Sir Ralph Woodford's principle, the master would have the greatest incentive to overwork and underfeed his slave.

So much for this gentleman's reasoning. Let us next examine his assertions. "The comforts of the slaves depend upon themselves, and their own industry, and their health upon their own imprudences, or the quantum of work they are required to perform. They can, if they choose, with very little trouble, amass much beyond the wants of the utmost ambition or profligacy."

These assertions scarcely deserve a comment. To tell us that a slave's comforts and health depend on *himself*, and, in the same sentence to add, *or on the quantum of work he is required to perform*, is trifling: for, if they depend on the quantum of work, over which he has no control, how can they depend on himself? Of a piece with this is the absurd exaggeration of what follows, where we are told that a slave may amass much beyond the wants of the utmost ambition or profligacy. Such an assertion as this defeats the object for which it is made. If the slave can thus amass wealth in the very few hours in each week, in which he is allowed to work for his own subsistence and profit, what (we should be glad to know) prevents the planters from amassing wealth, whose property the estate is, and to whom the chief of the slave's time and labour are devoted? The planters, however, so far from amassing wealth, are, as they themselves assure us, on the brink of ruin. Nay, the Assembly of Jamaica has told us, that unless the price of sugar be raised, the slaves must starve. Here is a strange inconsistency between the planters in Jamaica and the Governor of Trinidad. According to the former, unless there be a change of circumstances, starvation must be the lot of the slaves; while the testimony of the latter assures us, that these same slaves are able with little trouble "to amass much beyond the wants of the utmost ambition or profligacy." We leave these gentlemen to reconcile their contradictory statements in the best way they can; and in the mean time we must decline giving implicit credit to either party.

But we must not pass over Sir Ralph Woodford's fact. "I

have frequently known cases of negroes preferring to continue slaves, rather than, *with ample means*, to purchase their freedom, or even to accept it." Far be it from us to question the honour or veracity of this gentleman! No doubt he has been told this story, and believes it. But, for our part, we do not believe a word of it. What! a slave, that is, one who works without wages, who may be driven to his daily labour like a beast of the field, who, at the will of his master, or his master's officer, may be stripped and flogged, who may be torn from his wife and children, and sold, and carried off to a distant island,—a person in such a state as this, choosing to continue in it?—neglecting, with ample means, to purchase his freedom, nay, refusing to accept it, when freely offered to him? We do not, (we boldly repeat it, at the risk of being charged with "ardour for emancipation" and suspected of "that deficient acquaintance with the West Indies, so common among the abolitionists,") we do not believe a word of it, nor will the country believe it. Let the Governor of Trinidad require from his informants on this subject, the names, ages, and residences of the slaves who are thus enamoured of slavery, and let him communicate them to Parliament! Something more than the bare assertion of even so respectable a witness as Sir Ralph Woodford is necessary, before we can give credit to a representation which contradicts all experience, and is repugnant to every instinct and feeling of human nature. We have indeed heard of slaves who, having, late in life, acquired sufficient funds to purchase their own freedom, have yet chosen to continue in slavery in order to purchase the freedom of their children. But this is a fact, which shews at once their parental affection, and their sense of the value of freedom. There may also be some one or two superannuated laborers, who, having done their work, would only forfeit by freedom during their few remaining days their title to support. But further than this,—where the means are ample and the offer of liberty gratuitous,—*credat Judæus Appella!*

The reports of two other Governors are quoted in Mr. Marryat's speech, viz. of Governor Maxwell, of Dominica, and of Lieut.-Col. Arthur, of Honduras: and both of these cases strikingly exemplify the justness of our former remark, that mere detached portions of official reports are but of little value. In fact they frequently lead to very erroneous conclusions. These two gentlemen, in the extracts from their correspondence with Lord Bathurst, as quoted in Mr. Marryat's speech, speak favorably of the treatment of the slaves by the proprietors; and one of them, Col. Arthur, goes the

length of pronouncing an eulogium on the slave-owners of Honduras; declaring that, although he had gone to the West Indies a perfect Wilberforce as to slavery, what he had seen had convinced him, that in no part of the world does the laboring class possess any thing like the comforts and advantages of the slave-population of Honduras. Now on a further examination of the official reports of these two gentlemen, it appears that these, their earlier letters, were written under a delusion; a delusion, which was soon dispelled by a discovery of such grievous oppression and cruelties on the part of several of the planters as called for their interference. But they found it no easy matter, under a system of local regulations, constructed and enforced by slave-holders, to afford protection or redress to the wretched victims of oppression. In many instances their efforts were frustrated, and only seemed to provoke the hostility of the Colonists. The exertions of Col. Maxwell to detect and punish the cruelty of the Planters so enraged the Grand Jury of Dominica, that they actually, as Mr. Buxton stated in the House of Commons, presented him as a nuisance.

Col. Arthur having expressed himself strongly in his official reports, (as quoted by Mr. Marryat) concerning the comforts and happiness of the slaves, we shall present a few extracts from his late correspondence with Lord Bathurst, which was ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 16th of June, 1823. In a letter, addressed to that nobleman, dated Oct. 7th, 1820, he writes as follows:—

“In the dispatches which I had the honour to address to your Lordship, *shortly after my arrival in this settlement*, it afforded me the greatest pleasure to bear testimony to the humanity, which I observed generally exercised by the woodcutters towards their slaves. On the necessity I was under, however, in my dispatch of the 21st Oct. 1816, of detailing to your Lordship the cruelty which had been exercised by a settler, named Michael Carty, I was called upon to make some observations upon the extreme inhumanity of many of the lower class of settlers, residing in the town of Belize, towards their slaves; and, as it appeared to be an *evil greatly increasing*, I submitted at the time the total inadequacy of the courts of this settlement to check this vicious disposition. In my report to your Lordship of the 16th of May last, No. 27, upon the insurrection, which had taken place in the interior of the colony, I represented, that it had originated from the harshness, with which some of the slaves had been treated, and that I was not without hope the consequences on that occasion would have had the beneficial tendency of exciting

a greater degree of humanity towards these unfortunate people. I am much distressed, my Lord, that my expectations have not been answered: and such is the increasing severity and cruelty, which is now practised with impunity; that, although very conscious of the difficulty, which has hitherto presented itself to his Majesty's government upon the general question of the administration of justice in Honduras, I am most reluctantly constrained to bring the subject again under your Lordship's consideration. The result of a trial, which was instituted on the 6th instant against an inhabitant for excessive cruelty towards a poor slave, absolutely excludes every hope, under the present system of jurisprudence, of bringing offenders to punishment, when guilty of the most flagrant acts of inhumanity and oppression. The trial, to which I allude, was instituted against a free woman of colour, named Duncannette Campbell, under a bench-warrant, 'for punishing her slave, named Kitty, in an illegal, cruel, and severe manner, by chaining her and repeatedly whipping her, and for confining her for a considerable time in the said chains, in the loft of her house.' As the sufferings of this poor slave deeply excited my commiseration, I made it a point to attend the court. The female slave appeared, covered with wounds and stripes. The medical gentleman, who had examined her by order of the magistrates, deposed: 'I examined the slave Kitty, and observed the scars of several wounds, which appeared to have been recently inflicted with a whip or cow-skin; they were chiefly upon the shoulders, but there was also a considerable number upon the left arm, the neck, and face. Those on the face had produced considerable swelling and other symptoms of inflammation: one of the stripes had divided the ala of the left ear; another had wounded the left eye-ball: both eyes were much swelled and inflamed; and her whole countenance was so much disfigured that it was some time before I could recognise her.' The police officer deposed: 'On proceeding to the dwelling of Miss Campbell, I found the slave Kitty at the foot of a bed, with a pair of handcuffs on, and chained round the legs with a double padlock; the chain was bound round so close that she could not stand or move. I saw a cut upon the left ear, and many stripes upon the back: her face also bore visible marks of whipping; and there was a bruise under her eye. I tried to lift her up, but she could not stand; she informed me that she had been in this situation for six weeks.' In fact every charge stated in the warrant was most fully proved. To deny the punishment, which had been so cruelly inflicted, was of course impossible; and therefore the only defence which the prisoner

attempted to set up was, that the gentleman, with whom she had cohabited and lived for many years, had instigated the slave to neglect her business, disobey her orders, and to behave with the greatest insubordination; that the slave was her own property, and that therefore she had a right to punish her, as she thought proper. The prisoner admitted, indeed voluntarily bore testimony to, the uniform excellent conduct of the poor slave for many years, and stated, that the circumstance, for which she had now chastised her, was the only misconduct of which she had ever been guilty. The bench, which was composed of four magistrates, in charging the jury, in no way whatever adverted to the dreadful instrument with which the punishment had been inflicted; to the poor slave's ear having been cut through; to the frightful blows on her face; or to the confinement in chains; (every part of which is illegal by the consolidated slave-act of Jamaica, which is by the law professed to be acknowledged in the courts of this settlement, although the act is not in the country); but briefly observed, that by law every owner was justified in punishing to the extent of thirty-nine lashes; and therefore the only point for the consideration of the jury was, whether a greater number of lashes had been inflicted in the present case. Without five minutes' hesitation the prisoner was acquitted."

In another letter, dated 29th Sept. 1821, Col. Arthur writes:—"On the 11th instant I received a report from the officer of police, stating the illegal punishment he had been required by Mr. Bowen, a magistrate, to inflict on one of his slaves; and also detailing a most severe punishment, which he had in part carried into effect at the instance of the Bench, but with the farther execution of which he hesitated to proceed, as it appeared to him contrary to law. Immediately on receiving this information, I addressed the magistrates, informing them I was sorry to find, on a bare commitment, without any trial or evidence whatever, a very severe punishment had been ordered on four slaves; and intimating that it was unknown to me that any power was vested in the Bench to cause punishment to be so summarily inflicted. I requested some explanation on the subject. In their reply, the Bench endeavored to gloss over the matter as well as they could, setting forth, that the trial of slaves by jury was a heavy expence to the country; that they had acted with no intention of infringing the laws of the settlement, or the rights of the slaves; that under a heavy penalty, whether competent or not, they were obliged to act as magistrates, and consequently their fellow-settlers always viewed their conduct, when not strictly regular, with every *indulgence*. Although their

proceeding was in direct violation of the law, I animadverted on it in milder terms than I should otherwise have been disposed to have done, from the impression that two of the magistrates (it being their first year in office) might have acted without consideration, under the influence of Mr. Bowen, who, as an older magistrate, was well acquainted with the laws and customs of the court; and to whom, from his well-known character, I could have no hesitation in referring the whole matter, although it was difficult in such a case to attach the blame where I felt it ought to have rested; I did so, however, as far as I could with propriety, and also directed all the poor slaves to be instantly liberated and delivered up to their respective owners. In the course of investigating this flagrant attempt upon the rights of the slaves, I was led to the knowledge of Mr. Bowen having confined the poor slave in chains in his own premises, whom the police-officer had refused to place in that situation in the jail; and an affidavit, made before one of the magistrates, of his general cruelty and inhumanity, was at the same time laid before me. Having fully ascertained the unexceptionable character of the complainant, and made every investigation which prudence could suggest, I determined to issue a search-warrant; and your Lordship will perceive by the return of the officer, on the back of the warrant, that the slaves were found chained in the manner described in the affidavit. The warrant having been examined on the following morning by the Bench, Mr. Bowen was ordered for trial on the 25th instant: but I must here observe, that although the evidence on the examination was most clear and distinct, the majority of the three magistrates deemed it so very doubtful, whether the offence could be considered a breach of any law, or whether there had been any further punishment inflicted by Mr. Bowen, than an owner was justified in giving his slave, that they were much disposed to question the propriety of any prosecution. This of course convinced me of the feeling and disposition of the Bench.

“In order that I might be under no error from misrepresentation, I attended the trial: and the following circumstances were most clearly and distinctly proved, indeed not denied; that on the bare suspicion of having made away with some handkerchiefs, committed to her care to dispose of, a poor female slave was tied up, by order of her owner, and severely flogged, and then, handcuffed and shackled, placed in an old store, infested with vermin and the noisome flies of this country. After being in this situation for five days and nights, Serjeant Rush, a military pensioner, interceded with

Mr. Bowen for her release, and having pledged himself, if the handkerchiefs were not found, to pay the exorbitant sum demanded, the poor creature was liberated on Sunday about mid-day. On the following morning she left her owner's house to make complaint and seek redress. For this, and on no other ground whatever, she was again seized upon, tied down on her belly to the ground, her arms and legs being stretched out and secured to four stakes with sharp cords; and in this shocking attitude, in the heat of the sun, exposed before the men in a perfect state of nature, she was again severely flogged, in the presence of her inhuman master and his brother, upon her back and posteriors, and then sent back to her place of torment, and there again confined in handcuffs and chains, and subsisted on the wretched pittance of twenty plantains and two mackarel per week, for above fourteen days. Occasionally, indeed, it appeared, the miserable being was led out by day, and chained to a tree in the yard, and there compelled to wash. This, my Lord, was an offence, for which the magistrates could find no law, on which to charge the jury, nor the jury any under which to find the prisoner guilty! The case of the male slaves actually apprehended by the officer of police, handcuffed, shackled, and loaded with an enormous cattle-chain, in the very dwelling of this magistrate, I need not in this dispatch enlarge upon. If the enormity against the poor female was no violation of the law, this of course could not be deemed illegal."

Here are extracts from the official reports of Mr. Marryat's own witness, to whose testimony he triumphantly appeals as affording a refutation of Mr. Wilberforce's assertion concerning negro slavery. Do they refute that assertion? On the contrary, they confirm it, in its largest and most unqualified sense. We have deemed it right to examine thus minutely the evidence, by which it has been attempted to throw discredit on Mr. Wilberforce's opening statement, in which he has described the slavery of the British Colonies as a system "of unprecedented degradation and unrelenting cruelty;" because on the truth and accuracy of that statement rests the necessity of all the measures, which he and his associates recommend.

In ascribing the long continuance of the West Indian system to the generally prevailing ignorance of its real nature, and of its great and numerous evils, Mr. Wilberforce remarks, that many of the non-resident West Indian proprietors are unacquainted with them. He says,

"Even at this day, few of our countrymen, comparatively speaking, are at all apprised of the real condition of the bulk of the negro

population; and perhaps many of our non-resident West Indian proprietors are full as ignorant of it as other men. Often, indeed, the most humane of the number (many of them are men whose humanity is unquestionable) are least of all aware of it, from estimating, not unnaturally, the actual state of the case, by the benevolence of their own well-meant, but unavailing directions to their managers in the western hemisphere." (P. 2.)

We feel real pleasure in bearing our testimony to the truth of this representation. Many proprietors of West Indian estates are men of genuine humanity. Not a few of them abhor the whole system of slavery, and are connected with it, not from choice, but from various circumstances, over which they had no control. It has been one of the artifices of the advocates of the slave-system to represent its opponents, as including in one sweeping sentence of condemnation all, who happen to have an interest in the colonies. By this misrepresentation, they expected to excite the resentment of those, who, conscious that they had never sanctioned any regulations inconsistent with humanity, and that their instructions had been to treat their slaves with kindness, must feel the injustice of such indiscriminate censure. We have met several West Indian proprietors, men of the kindest disposition, and truly anxious to secure the comfort of the negroes, who have been so far deluded by this artifice, which we are exposing, as to imagine, that the abolitionists regarded, and had actually represented in their speeches and writings, all West Indian proprietors as unfeeling and oppressive. Now so far from this, Mr. Wilberforce, and the other advocates of the measures for the amelioration of slavery, have done ample justice to the humane and well-disposed part of the West Indians. It is the *system*, as at present regulated and administered under the Colonial law, and not the proprietors, that they have attacked. It has never been denied, that there are many humane proprietors; nor, that, in many cases, where the slaves are treated hardly, the fault is not in the proprietor, who is absent, but in his manager, who, under the circumstances of the case, must possess the entire control: and further it has always been granted, that many slaves are actually treated with kindness, and are in circumstances of as much enjoyment as is compatible with a state of bondage. All this is conceded to the very utmost extent, that can be required. But this does not in the slightest degree alter the system itself, the intolerable evil of which is, that the slave has no legal protection from oppression and cruelty. He is at the mercy of the proprietor or of his agent.

We have already drawn such a picture of West Indian slavery

(and it is a most faithful one, so far as it goes, without a shade of coloring beyond the reality,) as will doubtless excite sympathy and compassion for the unhappy negroes in many a breast. But by far the worst part remains to be exposed, that moral degradation of the slaves, which is the natural result of this treatment. On this part of the subject, Mr. Wilberforce's remarks cannot fail of making a deep impression.

"Though the evils," he says, "which have been already enumerated are of no small amount, in estimating the physical sufferings of human beings, especially of the lower rank, yet to a Christian eye, they shrink almost into insignificance, when compared with the moral evils, that remain behind, with that above all, which runs through the whole of the various cruel circumstances of the negro slave's condition, and is at once the effect of his wrongs and suffering, their bitter aggravation, and the pretext for their continuance, 'his extreme degradation in the intellectual and moral scale of being, and in the estimation of his white oppressors. The proofs of the extreme degradation of the slaves, in the latter sense, are innumerable; and, indeed, it must be confessed, that in the minds of Europeans in general, more especially in vulgar minds, whether vulgar from the want of education, or morally vulgar, (a more inwrought and less curable vulgarity,) the personal peculiarities of the negro race could scarcely fail, by diminishing sympathy, to produce impressions, not merely of contempt, but even of disgust and aversion. But how strongly are these impressions sure to be confirmed and augmented, when to all the effects of bodily distinctions are superadded all those arising from the want of civilization and knowledge, and still more all the hateful vices, that slavery never fails to engender or to aggravate! Such in truth must naturally be the effect of these powerful causes, that even the most ingeniously constructed system, which humanity and policy combined could have devised, would in vain have endeavored to counteract them: how much more powerfully then must they operate, especially in low and uneducated minds, when the whole system abounds with institutions and practices, which tend to confirm and strengthen their efficiency, and to give to a contemptuous aversion for the negro-race the sanction of manners and of law!" (P. 9, 10.)

Mr. Wilberforce illustrates these observations by an enumeration of various particulars of degradation, to which the slaves are subjected by law. Some of these we have before adverted to; such as, 1st, that they are, in a legal sense, not persons, but mere chattels, and, as such, may be sold, and that even separately from the estates on which they are settled; 2ndly, that their evidence is inadmissible against any free person, a circumstance, in consequence of which, as the late Mr. Otley, chief justice of St. Vincent's, himself a planter, declared, "white men are, in a manner, put beyond the reach of the law," or, as it was expressed by the late Sir William

Young, the staunch advocate of the slave-trade and slavery, "the most guilty European was covered with impunity;" 3rdly, the driving system, which goes on the principle, that the slaves are incapable of being governed, like other human beings: and

"Lower than this," says Mr. Wilberforce, "it is scarcely possible for man to be depressed by man. If such treatment does not find him vile and despised, it must infallibly make him so." And he adds, "The drivers commonly, or rather always, slaves, are usually the strongest and stoutest of the negroes; and though they are forbidden to give more than a few lashes at a time, as the immediate chastisement of faults committed at their work, yet the power over the slaves which they thus possess, unavoidably invests them with a truly formidable tyranny, the consequences of which, to the unfortunate subjects of it, are often in the highest degree oppressive and pernicious. No one, who reflects on the subject, can be at a loss to anticipate one odious use, which is too commonly made of this despotism, in extorting from the fears of the young females, who are subject to it, compliances with the licentious desires of the drivers, which they might otherwise have refused from attachment to another, if not from moral feelings and restraints. It is idle and insulting to talk of improving the condition of these poor beings, as rational and moral agents, while they are treated in a manner, which precludes self-government, and annihilates all human motives, but such as we impose on a maniac or on a hardened and incorrigible convict." (Pp. 15, 16.)

Mr. Wilberforce proceeds in his description of the moral degradation of the negroes, to animadvert on the neglect of the planters to introduce the Christian institution of marriage among them; a neglect the more extraordinary and the more criminal, because certain acts of the West Indian legislature require 'all overseers, managers, &c. of slaves, under a penalty, to exhort their slaves to receive the ceremony of marriage, as instituted under the forms of the Christian religion.'

Here a very disgraceful part of the colonial system comes into view. Laws are passed in the colonies; and yet the evils, which they are designed to remedy, remain in full operation. How does this happen? It is because in numerous cases the law is designed, not for effect in the island where it is enacted, but to silence the opponents of the slave-system at home, and to delude the British public. This has been distinctly stated by high West Indian authorities. Among others we have that of the late Sir George Prevost, a West Indian Governor, who, on being applied to by the government at home for information, which, under a certain act of the Colonial Legislature, should be forthcoming, returned for answer, "that the act in question appeared to have been considered, from the day it was passed until that hour, as a

political measure, to avert the interference of the mother-country in the management of slaves." Such has obviously been the case with respect to the laws to which we are now adverting. For many years little or nothing was done in consequence of them. If any question were raised at home about the marriage of the slaves, the laws were ready to be produced: but in the West Indies they were a dead letter. The slaves were suffered to live in a state of the most licentious profligacy. Promiscuous intercourse between the sexes universally prevailed. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? While the husband might be torn from the wife, and the children from the parents, and sold to different proprietors, and even transported to a different island, how could it be expected that permanent connexions, such as Christianity enjoins, should be formed? As for *example*, it is on the side of every thing licentious and vile. The managers and overseers, in too many instances, exhibit in their own conduct what is most corrupting and depraving. Not only do the white men, attached to the different estates, commonly indulge in licentious intercourse with the female slaves, going the length, not unfrequently, of forcibly separating slaves from each other who had formed an attachment, and become the parents of children;—but even strangers, who happen to arrive on a visit at a plantation, are accustomed during their stay, to cohabit, as a matter of course, with some of the slaves.

This licence, on the part of the planters, or rather this encouragement to profligate habits among the slaves, is the more extraordinary, because it is directly opposed to their own interest. It was one of their most powerful objections to the abolition of the slave-trade, and it is at this moment a general subject of complaint with them, that the numbers of the slaves cannot be kept up. They are at no loss to account for this. They attribute it to the licentiousness of the slaves, and to the promiscuous intercourse, which prevails among them: and doubtless this is one principal cause of the non-increase of the slave-population. Why then not have recourse to the proper remedy for this evil, provided by the divine wisdom and goodness, in the institution of marriage? On their own principle, that licentiousness was the chief cause of declining numbers, a sense of interest, in the absence of higher motives, should have dictated such a procedure. But nothing of this kind appears to have occurred to them. So little encouragement, notwithstanding all the parade of law to which we have adverted, have the slaves had to form legal marriages, that as appears from the returns, in the island of Jamaica, (containing a slave-population of 340,000,) only 3396

marriages have been celebrated in the last fourteen years, and in the same space of time not a dozen in all the other islands put together. The sentiments of the West Indians themselves respecting the marriage of the slaves may be collected with tolerable accuracy from the language of one of the clergymen of Grenada, the Rev. Mr. Nash: "The legal solemnization of marriage," says the Rev. gentleman, "between slaves in this island, is a thing unheard of, and, if I might presume to offer my sentiments, would in their present state of imperfect civilization, lead to no beneficial result. Their affection for each other, if affection it can be called, is capricious and short-lived: restraint would hasten its extinction; and unity without harmony is mutual torment." Here is a sentimental divine for you! We should recommend it to this gentleman to return home, and acquire common sense, as well as a little more knowledge of religion. His reason, if it were worth any thing, would apply with as much force to a marriage in England, as to one in the West Indies.

Before we pass from this part of the subject, we would ask—Do not these official returns furnish evidence of two facts; first that the marriage-institution has been neglected among the slaves; and next, that on the side of the planters, that neglect has been part of a system deliberately formed and acted on?

The next particular of which Mr. Wilberforce treats, we shall introduce in his own words.

"In my estimate of things, and I trust in that of the bulk of my countrymen, though many of the physical evils of our colonial slavery are cruel, and odious, and pernicious, the almost universal destitution of religious and moral instruction among the slaves is the most serious of all the vices of the West Indian system; and, had there been no other, this alone would have most powerfully enforced on my conscience the obligation of publicly declaring my conviction, that it is the duty of the legislature of this country to interpose for the mitigation and future termination of a state, in which the ruin of the moral man, if I may so express myself, has been one of the sad consequences of his bondage. It cannot be denied, I repeat, that the slaves, more especially the great body of the field-negroes, are practically strangers to the multiplied blessings of the Christian revelation. What a consideration is this! A nation, which, besides the invaluable benefit of an unequalled degree of true civil liberty, has been favored with an unprecedented measure of religious light, with its long train of attendant blessings, has been for two centuries detaining in a state of slavery, beyond example rigorous, and in some particulars worse than pagan darkness and depravity, hundreds of thousands of their fellow creatures, originally torn from their native land by fraud and vio-

lence. Generation after generation have thus been pining away ; and in this same condition of ignorance and degradation they still, for the most part, remain. This, I am well aware, is an awful charge ; but it undeniably is too well founded, and scarcely admits of any exception beyond what has been effected by those excellent, though too commonly traduced and persecuted men, the Christian missionaries."—(P. 24, 25.)

Now let us attentively note the various parts of this charge ! An awful one indeed it is ; and on that account it should be the more carefully investigated. The physical evils of our colonial slavery, are, it is said, cruel, odious, and pernicious. From the very nature of slavery, this description must always apply to it ; and therefore, that it should be so in our colonies, is only a matter of course. But to these necessary and inherent evils of the system there is added according to this charge, the almost universal destitution of religious and moral instruction among the slaves. Now to what does this accusation amount ? To this, that the slaves are taught nothing for this world or that which is to come, suited to rational, immortal, and accountable beings ; that they are used, as machines or brute beasts are used, for the purposes of labour, their bodies and strength supported and kept up with a view to this, but their reasoning faculties and immortal spirits entirely neglected ; that they are suffered to gratify without restraint every corrupt and licentious passion of their nature, and encouraged in it by many an abominable example, but never warned of any danger, nor instructed in any better course ; that they are left in whatever heathenish delusion or superstition they may have imbibed, in ignorance of the truths of Christianity, which tell man of his sin, his responsibility, his God, his duty, his Saviour, and a future state of rewards and punishments. This is what is meant by destitution of religious and moral instruction.

Now what do the slave-owners say to this, as a *general* charge ? As a *general* charge, we repeat ; for, that it is *universally* applicable, is not pretended. In the first place they tell us of their laws, passed with the view of promoting religion among the slaves. To this we answer—' Your laws are a dead letter ; they are not acted on.' They tell us next of the establishment of clergymen with liberal salaries to instruct the slaves. We answer—' These clergymen have no access to the slaves, nor are the slaves allowed leisure to attend to their instructions : the clergymen themselves assure us of this ; and we know, that the Sunday is, and necessarily must be, according to the present system, a day of occupation.' They tell us next of the numbers of the baptized slaves, and assure us that this rite of

Christianity is administered to increasing numbers every year. To this we answer, that the baptized are too commonly as ignorant as the unbaptized. For this also we have the authority of the clergymen; and also that of Sir George Rose, who informs us that "he found the slave-population, though baptized, utterly without religion, ignorant, disorderly, and dishonest:" and Mr. Barham, one of the most enlightened and liberal of the proprietors, states, that "for the most insignificant reward the slaves would universally accept baptism." But do the planters dispute the validity of our reasoning on this subject, and the value of our authorities? Do they contradict our statements, and deny the charge? Then we bring down on them testimony, which they dare not impeach; we have witnesses, whom they must respect. They are themselves our witnesses; the testimony is their own. They are our authority, that the slaves are ignorant, and degraded, and little elevated above brute beasts. To every demand, made on behalf of the slaves, they oppose this ignorance and degradation. 'Lay aside the lash,'—we demand. 'No,'—They reply. 'The slaves are incapable of being governed, like human beings.' 'Admit their testimony in courts of justice.' 'No,'—they answer.—'They cannot understand the nature of an oath.' 'Give them the institution of marriage!' 'No,'—says a reverend gentleman. 'In their present state it would lead to no beneficial result.' After all this, with what face can any honest advocate of the West Indians deny the almost universal destitution of religious and moral instruction among the slaves?

Well might Mr. Wilberforce turn from the planters, and make an appeal to the British nation on the fearful consequences of this neglect. We ask—Is it possible that our country can escape the displeasure of the Almighty, if, after this system of oppression and cruelty has been fairly laid open, we shall continue to uphold or sanction it? As far as it is possible from outward and visible tokens to form a judgment, that displeasure has long been manifested against the system itself. Nothing prospers under it. The complaint of those concerned in the West Indian trade is at this moment loud and general, that they are on the verge of ruin. How extraordinary, that it has never occurred to them, that the evils of this system are weighing them down! But let not their infatuation extend to the British nation! At this moment, hundreds of thousands of our fellow creatures in the West Indies are appealing to our justice and humanity. May the cry of their misery awaken the British Legislature to such a sense of their duty as shall lead to the adoption of measures, calcu-

lated to prepare the way for converting, in due time, the degraded slave into the enlightened freeman!

This brings us to the remedy, which Mr. Wilberforce proposes, and to the measures which he and those engaged in the same cause recommend, preparatory to the attainment of their grand ultimate object. That ultimate object, the parties boldly avow, is nothing less than the extinction of slavery in the British Colonies. So far from any attempt to disguise this, they put forward the most distinct avowal of it in the front of all their proceedings. The Society, which they have formed in London, the ramifications of which already extend to the most distant parts of the country, holds this forth in its very designation. It is entitled, "The Society for Mitigating and gradually Abolishing the State of Slavery throughout the British Dominions." Mr. Wilberforce is no less explicit in the first paragraph of the publication before us. He calls on "all the inhabitants of the British Empire, who value the favour of God, to employ their best endeavours, by all lawful and constitutional means, to mitigate, and, as soon as it may be safely done, to terminate the Negro Slavery of the British Colonies."

Mr. Buxton's statement was equally full and distinct in his luminous and unanswerable speech in the House of Commons, on the fifteenth of May, when he introduced his motion on this great question. His language on that occasion was the following:—"I now come to tell gentlemen the course we mean to pursue: and I hope I shall not be deemed imprudent, if I throw off all disguise, and state frankly and without reserve the object, at which we aim. The object, at which we aim, is, the extinction of slavery, nothing less than the extinction of slavery, in nothing less than the whole of the British dominions." Such an unreserved and manly avowal well becomes the advocates of justice and humanity. Let the apologists of oppression hesitate, and mince, and disguise! Their cause requires all the arts of concealment or palliation, which they can employ.

But let it be distinctly noted, that, while such is the object which the abolitionists have in view, no one, not even the most sanguine of them, entertains the idea of jumping forward to it all at once, or even of arriving at it by any thing like a short or summary process. With such rashness they have, indeed, been charged: but this, (and the country should be warned of it) is only one of many calumnies, by which it is sought to excite prejudice against them and their cause. Their views and intentions are to be learned, not from the misrepresentations of opponents, but from themselves and their own statements. Their names, rank, and character, are surely a

sufficient guarantee for candour, plain dealing, and honesty. Independently of the many noble and distinguished individuals among them, men of unquestionable honour, the name of Wilberforce alone will furnish a sufficient security, that nothing underhand, nothing but what is openly and distinctly avowed, is in contemplation. What then is the plan, which they propose? Is it a rapid termination of slavery? Is it the sudden emancipation of the Negroes? No; but such a series of precautionary measures, and preparatory steps, as shall, in a course of years, qualify the slaves for the enjoyment of freedom. Their plan, as explained by Mr. Buxton, in the speech already referred to, embraces the following provisions:

1. That all children of slaves, born after a certain day, shall be free; care being taken of their education and maintenance, until they shall be capable of acting for themselves.

2. That the slaves shall cease to be chattels in the eye of the law; and that they shall be attached to the island, and, under certain modifications, to the soil.

3. That their testimony shall be received in courts of justice.

4. That, when a claim is made to the services of a Negro, who asserts that he is a freeman, the onus probandi shall rest on the claimant.

5. That all obstructions to manumissions shall be removed; and that the provisions of the Spanish law (fixing by authority the value of the slave, and allowing him to purchase his freedom at once, or by a day at a time) shall be introduced.

6. That no governor, judge, or attorney-general, shall be a slave-owner.

7. That an effectual provision shall be made for the instruction of the slave; and that the Sunday shall be devoted to repose and religious instruction; and that other time shall be allotted to him for the cultivation of his provision grounds.

8. That marriage shall be enforced and sanctioned.

9. That proper measures shall be taken to restrain the authority of the master in punishing his untried slave.

10. That some substitute be found for the driving system.

Such is the proposed plan for ameliorating the slavery of the Colonies. The planters meet it by an outcry against any interference on the part of the British Parliament. These are matters which, they assert, belong exclusively to the local legislatures; and to them they should and must be left. On this denial of the right of the British Parliament to interfere, suffice it to say, that it has already interfered over and over, and that its right to do so has been recognised by some of the most distinguished statesmen of the country; among others

by Mr. Burke and the late Lord Melville. If indeed the local legislatures were likely to do their duty, it would be more eligible, on various accounts, to leave the work in their hands. But does their past conduct warrant any confidence in them? Very far from it. From the period of the abolition of the slave-trade to the present, what substantial change for the better have they introduced into the condition of the slaves? The present wretched and degraded state of those slaves answers the question. So far from having applied a remedy to the various abuses, at that time described by the abolitionists, they have even rejected the reforms pointed out and strongly recommended to them, at different periods since, by their own friends and advocates: and instead of being disposed to adopt the measures now recommended, they have repeatedly avowed their conviction, that such measures would prove the destruction of the Colonies. How then can any one, who seriously desires the amelioration of the slave-system, recommend, that the reforms should be committed to the West Indian legislatures? It is quite natural, indeed, that the planters should make this demand, because their object is to defeat or delay the proposed measures. Let the British Parliament undertake and accomplish the work! or it will remain undone.

But not only is the British Parliament not to interfere with the slave-system by legislation, but, according to the West Indians, even a word should not be spoken on the subject in the British House of Commons, lest the most frightful consequences should follow from it. All the debates in Parliament, we are told, as well as all the measures of the abolitionists are known throughout the West India Islands, the slave-population of which are like a mass of combustibles, which a single spark may ignite, and kindle into a destructive conflagration. Even Mr. Canning, whose name is so honorably identified with the most decided abolitionists, and whose conduct in the debate, on Mr. Buxton's motion, gave general satisfaction, even he spoke on that occasion of the danger, attending a discussion, in which "one rash word, perhaps even one too ardent expression, might raise a flame not easily to be extinguished." Now this appears to us passing strange. We should be glad to know what is the channel of communication between the British Parliament and the negro slaves. Is it the public press? We should be curious to ascertain, which of the London newspapers has the widest circulation amongst them. We should like to see the list of negro subscribers to the *Times*, *Courier*, *Post*, and *Chronicle*. Or is it at evening meetings, at certain News Rooms or Coffee Houses, established in the Islands for their

recreation, that the negroes, while they sip their coffee, read and inflame each other with the Parliamentary debates? We shall be told perhaps, that "the people of colour form the connecting link between the whites and blacks, that they are in the habit of reading the newspapers and of communicating to the negroes the discussions, that relate to them." Here then a new feature in West Indian policy comes into view. With a fearful majority of blacks in the West Indies, who are represented as always ready for insurrection, and only restrained by the exercise of absolute power, it might seem natural to win over by favorable enactments the free people of colour to the side of the masters, and thus at least to diminish the majority, against which they have to contend. So far however is this from being the case, that the very reply admits, that the people of colour are on the side and of the same party with the slaves: and this is notoriously the fact; for the whites despise them, as of African origin, and thus themselves drive them into the ranks, from which they are naturally separated by no less a boundary than that which distinguishes slavery from freedom. On the whole (it must be admitted) these negroes are a most extraordinary race of beings; for though they are so degraded as to be insensible to every impulse, but that of the lash, they can yet, (it appears) enter so keenly and with so much acuteness into the discussions of the House of Commons, that even one rash word, or one too ardent expression in these discussions cannot escape them. But there is a still more extraordinary and unaccountable anomaly in their character. It is this. Treat them ever so ill; flog them; torture them; over-work and under-feed them; and they remain submissive and peaceable: but let one word be said about altering their condition for the better; let the most distant rumour reach their ears, that they are no longer to be flogged and tortured, and they will immediately break out into revolt, and put all their masters to death!

All this is certainly very incredible, and it will appear so, we are persuaded, to the country at large. Indeed it cannot be otherwise, when it is recollected that this is the story we have heard, and this the very alarm, which has been rung in our ears every time, for the last thirty years, that the subject of slavery has been under discussion in Parliament. On all such occasions, a hundred warning voices have been raised, deprecating all interference, beseeching us, as we value the lives and properties of the West Indians, not to say a word about emancipating or altering the condition of the slaves. And what has been the conduct of the parties themselves? To shew the reality of this alarm, and their anxiety to keep

such subjects from the ears of the slaves, they have carefully published in Colonial papers the most inflammatory articles, which have appeared in the British press; nay, they have used language themselves, in their speeches and resolutions, calculated to give the impression to the slaves, that there is a party in England, determined on procuring for them instantaneous freedom. Such is, at this moment, the conduct of the planters in Jamaica.

Although this article has run to a considerable length, we must extend it still further by a short examination of the other two pamphlets the titles of which are prefixed to it.

We commence with the "Counter Appeal," by Sir Henry William Martin, Bart. This gentleman is, according to his own account, a slave-owner; and therefore, although we are quite disposed to give full credit to his assurances respecting the humane treatment, which his own slaves receive, he must excuse us, if, when he makes general statements concerning the slave-system, and the conduct of the other planters, we regard his testimony, as that of an interested party, and consequently, however honorable his character, and however abhorrent his dispositions and habits from intentional misrepresentation, to be received with caution. Indeed, some of his statements are of so extraordinary a nature, so directly opposed to evidence, which cannot be impeached, to that for example of several of the governors of the islands, as well as of clergymen established there, nay more, to the admissions of many of the most respectable planters themselves, that we can account for them only on the supposition, that he confined himself to what occurred under his own authority on his own estate, or that he has repeated the unauthenticated stories, with which he has suffered himself to be imposed on by others. No doubt also, the partiality, with which he views the slave-system, has had considerable effect on his mind. That this is the case, appears from various parts of his publication. We have a specimen of it in his first page. He objects to one of the mottoes, prefixed by Mr. Wilberforce to his appeal. The motto consists of the following text of Scripture:—"Wo unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work." This (he says) is a direct anathema, and highly unjust, as applied to the planters; "for they give abundant remuneration to the negroes." Is it really so? This is the first time we have heard of it. We have always understood, that the negroes received no wages; that they were merely fed and clothed, that they might be able to work, when summoned to

it by the sound of the lash, or impelled to it by its stroke. Is this what Sir Henry Martin considers abundant *remuneration*?

This gentleman arranges his arguments under the three following heads:—

“First, That slavery was not unjust in its origin, and is not unjust in its continuance, nor displeasing to God; secondly, that, as existing in the West Indies, it is not contrary to humanity; and thirdly, that it cannot now be safely or advantageously abolished in the West Indies.” (P. 2.)

We cannot but admire the magnanimity of this outset. It required more than ordinary courage to undertake, and certainly more than ordinary powers to accomplish the task, which he has set himself; it being nothing less than to prove slavery not unjust in its origin, not unjust in its continuance, not displeasing to God, nor, as existing in the West Indies, contrary to humanity. This is what may be called taking the bull by the horns; and assuredly, if he can establish these positions, the question at issue is completely set at rest.

Under this feeling, it was with not a little curiosity, that we proceeded to examine his arguments. In tracing the origin of slavery, under the first head, we naturally expected some allusion to slave-dealers, and to Africa, with its wars, outrages, and kidnappers: for we had been accustomed to connect the slavery of the Colonies with the slave-trade, the slaves there being either negroes, bought by the planters, or the children of those so bought. The origin of such slavery therefore, appeared to us to have been this: The planters bought the negro from the slave-trader, and the slave-trader bought him from some one in Africa, who had stolen or seized on him by violence. This, which we conceived to be the origin of slavery, seemed to establish its injustice and iniquity. What then was our astonishment on reading the following notice in Sir Henry Martin’s statement on the subject!—

“I will refer to the Bible for the origin of slavery, and in the ninth chapter of Genesis it is thus written.” (P. 2.)

He then proceeds to quote those verses in which Noah pronounces his son Canaan accursed, and declares, that “a servant of servants he shall be to his brethren.” This is a very extraordinary mode of answering Mr. Wilberforce’s appeal. Mr. Wilberforce discusses the present state of West Indian slavery; and to the origin and continuance of the slavery there existing, and to that only, does he allude in his work. As an answer to this, Sir Henry Martin raises a discussion on the abstract question of the lawfulness of slavery.

But let us take the argument, as we find it! and perhaps Sir Henry adopted this mode of treating the subject, in order

to vindicate the planters under the serious charge brought against them, of preferring their own interest to every consideration of justice and mercy. He probably designed to shew, that all this time, while they have been abused, as the most selfish and cruel of men, their sole object has been to fulfil the pleasure of the Almighty, and to accomplish the predictions of his word. Hence a new light breaks in on the subject. What an injured class of men these planters have been ! With the Bible in their hand, in which the descendants of Canaan are doomed to servitude, and with the example of the patriarchs, and the law of Moses before their eyes, they have been endeavoring to do their duty by so working and flogging the African negroes, that they may appear to the whole world in the very position, in which the descendants of Canaan ought to be exhibited, viz. as "the servants of servants ;" an Hebraism, signifying slaves in a sugar plantation under the lash of the cart-whip.

Ready as we are to applaud this religious principle of the planters, we cannot at the same time refrain from expressing our apprehension, that their respect for the authority of the Bible is carrying them rather too far. They seem to consider themselves, as placed under the conscientious necessity of retaining the negroes in bondage for ever. We are led to entertain this apprehension, from the circumstance of Sir Henry Martin's having quoted the following verses from the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus :—

"Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen, that are round about you. Of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers, that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families which are with you, which they beget in your land ; and they shall be your possession ; and ye shall take them, as an inheritance, for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession. They shall be your bondmen for ever." (Pp. 3, 4.)

Now it will doubtless be gratifying to these gentlemen to learn, that this expression, "for ever," in the verses just quoted, means only a *few years*, and that no such thing as perpetual servitude was allowed under the Jewish law.* The Jewish slave was to be restored to freedom at the end of six years, and then to be liberally rewarded out of his master's substance : and all other slaves (that is, those who were not Jews) were to be dismissed free at the year of Jubilee, whenever that might occur.

* To this statement a single exception is to be made, in the case of the servant who had become so attached to the family of his master, as to refuse to leave him. Provision was made for allowing a master to retain such a servant.

As Sir Henry respects the authority of the Bible, we shall now, in our turn, give him a quotation or two from it. The first shall be from the same chapter in Leviticus which he has himself quoted. We regret, that it should have escaped his notice, when he read the other part of the chapter with so much care. "Thou shalt number seven Sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years; and the space of seven Sabbaths of years shall be with thee forty and nine years. Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the Jubilee to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month. In the day of atonement shall ye make the trumpet sound throughout all your land: and ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family."

Our other quotation is from the fifteenth chapter of Deuteronomy.—"And if thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee. And when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go empty: Thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and out of thy wine-press: of that wherewith the Lord thy God hath blessed thee, thou shalt give unto him!" From these quotations it appears that the authority of the Old Testament, far from imposing on the planters the necessity of retaining their slaves in perpetual bondage, directly prohibits and condemns such a procedure.

The worthy Baronet concludes this part of his argument in the following manner:

—"To set the question quite at rest, I will shew that slavery was recognized and sanctioned under the Christian dispensation, for which purpose I will make a quotation from"—(P. 4.)

doubtless our readers will suppose,—*from some book of the New Testament.* But it is no such thing, he quotes not a single line of it; but he quotes "Bishop Tomline's Elements of Christian Theology." Now, highly as we respect this distinguished prelate, we most decidedly deny, that any quotation from his works, or from the works of any other human being, is to be taken, independently of the word of Scripture itself, as decisive authority respecting what Christianity sanctions. His Lordship would, we are satisfied, equally disapprove of the manner in which he is put forward, as authority, and of the object or design, with which the quotation from his works is made. It must be obvious to every one, acquainted with his Lordship's Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Pitt, that he is decidedly opposed to Sir Henry Martin on the subject of

slavery : and as for the quotation from his works, which Sir Henry has introduced, it contains not a single syllable, from which it can be deduced, that he considers Christianity as giving its sanction to slavery. His Lordship merely intimates that Christianity does not, by any system of direct precepts, interfere with civil institutions ; or as the late venerable Bishop Porteus expressed it in the House of Lords, in the year 1806, in a debate on the slave-trade—"That slavery was permitted (that is not forbidden) under the Christian religion, is perfectly true. But what has this to do with the African slave-trade ? Nothing ; nor with slavery in the West Indies. But with regard to slavery, there was no such thing as perpetual slavery under the Old or New Testament." And he adds—"It is said, that our Saviour did not forbid slavery. That was, because he did not interfere with civil institutions, but left it to the spirit of his religion to correct their evils. He inculcated obedience to ruling powers on earth, without reference to any institution. Therefore you find no command of his for or against slavery. But the principle and spirit of the Christian religion is against slavery of every kind."

We have dwelt so long on this first head of the worthy Baronet's argument, because we feel, with Bishop Porteus, that, "to say the Christian religion sanctions slavery, is the grossest libel that ever was published against that religion."

Sir Henry Martin's statements, under his second head, in which it is his object to prove that slavery,

"as existing in the West Indies, is not contrary to humanity," (P.2.) cannot fail (we conceive) to injure the cause, of which he is the advocate. With respect to the treatment and condition of the slaves, he asserts, as fact, what has been disproved over and over a hundred times : and he denies what has been as frequently acknowledged, even by the planters themselves. We give one specimen.

"Mr. Wilberforce expresses himself to be extremely shocked and displeased at the assertion of the planters and their partisans, that the negro slaves are as well, or even better off than the British peasantry. Nevertheless I do assert it—The negroes, as I stated before, are generally Christians, and equally with the British peasantry enjoy the rest of the Sabbath, and the opportunity of attending divine service on that day. Both are the slaves of necessity. Both are compelled to labour for their daily bread. The peasant has no claims upon his employer beyond his daily wages ; and, if these should not be sufficient to support himself and his family, while he is able to work, and also to lay by enough for their maintenance, when he can no longer labour, they have no alternative, but quitting their cottages for

the parish-workhouse ; the miseries of which are too generally known to require comment. The negro has no fear of being compelled to resort to such an asylum in his old age, but retains all the advantages he enjoyed in his youth ; and at his decease, may leave his cottage to whom he pleases, (belonging to the estate,) and his money and moveables to any one without restriction." (P. 18.)

With this extract we consider it quite sufficient to place in juxta-position the paragraph of Mr. Wilberforce's appeal, to which Sir Henry alludes.

"The West Indians (says Mr. Wilberforce,) in the warmth of argument have gone still further, and have even distinctly told us, again and again, and I am shocked to say, that some of their partisans in this country have re-echoed the assertion, that these poor degraded beings, the negro-slaves, are as well or even better off than our British peasantry ; a proposition so monstrous, that nothing can possibly exhibit in a stronger light the extreme force of the prejudices, which must exist in the minds of its assertors. A Briton to compare the state of a West Indian slave with that of an English freeman, and to give the former the preference ! It is to imply an utter insensibility of the native feelings and moral dignity of man, no less than of the rights of Englishmen. I will not condescend to argue this question, as I might, on the ground of comparative feeding and clothing, and lodging, and medical attendance. Are these the only claims ? Are these the chief privileges of a rational and mortal being ? Is the consciousness of personal independence nothing ? Are self-possession and self-government nothing ? Is it of no account that our persons are inviolate by any private authority, and that the whip is placed only in the hand of the public executioner ? Is it of no value that we have the power of pursuing the occupation and habits of life which we prefer ; that we have the prospect, or at least the hope, of improving our condition, and of rising, as we have seen others rise, from poverty and obscurity to comfort, and opulence, and distinction ? Again, are all the charities of the heart, which arise out of the domestic relations, to be considered as nothing ; and (I may add) all their security too, among men who are free agents, and not vendible chattels, liable continually to be torn from their dearest connexions, and sent into a perpetual exile ? Are husband and wife, parent and child, terms of no meaning ? Are willing services or grateful returns for voluntary kindnesses, nothing ? But, above all, is Christianity so little esteemed among us, that we are to account, as of no value, the hope, full of immortality, the light of heavenly truth, and all the consolations and supports, by which religion cheers the hearts and elevates the principles and dignifies the conduct of multitudes of our laboring classes in this free and enlightened country ? Is it nothing to be taught, that all human distinctions will soon be at an end ; that all the labours and sorrows of poverty and hardship will soon exist no more ; and to know, on the express authority of Scripture, that the lower classes, instead of being an inferior order in the creation, are even the preferable objects of the love of the Almighty ? But such wretched sophisms as

insult the understandings of mankind, are sometimes best answered by an appeal to their feelings. Let me therefore ask, is there, in the whole of the three kingdoms, a parent or a husband, so sordid and insensible, that any sum, which the richest West Indian proprietor could offer him, would be deemed a compensation for his suffering his wife or his daughter to be subjected to the brutal outrage of the cart-whip, to the savage lash of the driver, to the indecent and degrading, and merciless punishment of a West Indian whipping? If there be one so dead, I say not to every liberal, but to every natural feeling, as that money could purchase of him such a concession, such a wretch, and he alone, would be capable of the farther sacrifices, necessary for degrading an English peasant to the condition of a West Indian slave. He might consent to sell the liberty of his own children, and to barter away even the blessings, conferred on himself by that religion, which declares to him, that his master, no less than himself, has a master in heaven, a common Creator, who is no respecter of persons, and in whose presence he may weekly stand on the same spiritual level with his superiors in rank, to be reminded of their common origin, common responsibility, and common day of final and irreversible account. (Pp. 45—48.)

The third division of the worthy Baronet's argument is, "that slavery cannot now be safely or advantageously abolished." But, as nothing can be plainer or more explicit than the avowal of Mr. Wilberforce and his associates, that no immediate or sudden emancipation of the slaves is in contemplation, we pass over this division of his argument without remark, and proceed at once to the publication of the rector of Manchester.

It is entitled, "A voice from Jamaica:" and its author, the Rev. G. W. Bridges, B.A. writes only, "as the feeble advocate of a Church Establishment, as the impartial spectator, the friend of truth and justice." (P. 2.)

Nevertheless we have reason to believe, that the Reverend Gentleman is a slave-holder: and therefore we maintain, that his impartiality and disinterestedness are not to be pronounced, *a priori*, from his profession and station, or even from his good account of himself, but that they are to be established by the nature and contents of his publication.

The first circumstance, which comes under our view in examining his production, is a very virulent attack on Mr. Wilberforce; in which not only his conduct and character are vilified, but the very worst and basest motives are attributed to him. This we leave unanswered, believing, as we do, that the name of Wilberforce does not require a defender. The author himself informs us, (and this avowal should be particularly noted) that he "possessed as much respect for that champion of the abolition as ever enthusiast felt," when, seven years ago, he went to the West Indies.

Thus, from his own acknowledgement it appears, that as long as he resided in this country, where Mr. Wilberforce's conduct and character are open to investigation, and where a just estimate of them may best be formed, he felt for him an enthusiastic respect; and that it is since he went to the West Indies, and became a slave-owner, the associate of the resident West Indians, and familiarized to the view of whips, and stocks, and slave-drivers, and human degradation, and human misery, it is since that, and amidst such scenes as these, that he has learned, that Mr. Wilberforce is a man of disordered fancy, the enemy of the church and the clergy, the tool of designing men, who procured the abolition of the slave-trade, not by a long course of unwearied and honorable exertion, not by a manly appeal to the justice and humanity of the country, not by the aid of the most enlightened and upright men in the land, but by basely bartering his vote with Mr. Fox.

After this specimen of the Reverend Gentleman's ingenuousness and impartiality, we feel it unnecessary to enter into any minute examination of his statements. To a few of them, however, we shall advert, that our readers may have some idea of his mode of reasoning.

Mr. Wilberforce asserts in his appeal that there exists in the West Indies

"a natural tendency towards the maximum of labour and the minimum of food and other comforts." (P. 8.)

The remarks of Mr. Bridges on this are deserving of notice. After describing the labour of the negro, as a mere trifle, when compared with that, which an English day-laborer has to perform, entirely forgetting however the negro's night-work, and after telling us, that he has even a cook provided for him to dress his abundant food, which he considers as palatable as what the Sunday oven affords to the laborer, he represents this same negro, as returning home at night, secure of finding his wife and children (who no doubt have been amusing themselves all day, as there is not a word about their having been at work) round a good fire (an ingredient, by the way, in West India comfort which had not before occurred to us) happy and contented as himself. In this comfortable house the negro passes the night, secure of the same provision for the morrow. Now under such happy circumstances we might hope that he would enjoy a good night's sleep. But, no; perfect enjoyment, alas! is not the lot of any mortal. This negro, Mr. Bridges intimates, cannot enjoy such sweet slumbers as the English laborer, because he wants that which sweetens the laborer's slum-

bers. Our readers might puzzle themselves for a long time before they would be able to find out what it is which the negro wants. He has his wife and children, his cook to dress his food, his warm home, and moreover his good fire : what then, in the name of wonder, can he want? He wants FATIGUE. It is

“fatigue, which renders sweet the slumbers of the English laborer :” (P. 12.)

and the want of that fatigue may prevent the negro from having the same. Still Mr. Bridges comforts us with the assurance, that

“his enjoyment is as perfect as his nature is capable of.” (P. 12.)

In reply to Mr. Wilberforce’s arguments in favour of the admission of the slave’s evidence in Courts of Justice, Mr. Bridges says,

“Be assured that you are joined heart and hand by the great body of colonists !” (P. 19.)

Nevertheless, how does he treat the proposal? The bare idea of a slave being permitted to be a witness seems to have set him beside himself. “Prematurely admit their evidence, and the consequence” (says he) “will be”—what? That some of them may be ready to perjure themselves? Yes. But this is not all.

“We should,” says Mr. Bridges, “sign our own death-warrants, in the first assizes, which followed.” (P. 21.)

The slaves (he appears to think) would go in a body to the next assizes, which should be held, after they were permitted to give evidence, and swear away the lives of their masters; after which no doubt the masters, as becomes persons who have a due respect for the law, would quietly proceed and execute the sentence upon each other.

“Recollect,” says this terrified and half-distracted gentleman, “they are numerically ten to one against the whites; and that, in their present state, they are only held in subjection, and prevented from immolating their masters by this *slight retention*.” (P. 20.)

Hitherto it has been supposed that the security of the Colonies depended partly on the troops, together with the number and power of the whites, and partly on the want of arms, discipline, and concert of the blacks. But this, it seems, is all a mistake. Their security has depended on the circumstance of the slaves not being permitted to give evidence. Allow them once to open their mouth in a court of justice, and the first oath they take will

“give impetus to a fearful power, which must inevitably crush every white inhabitant of the British West Indies.” (P. 20.)

But our readers will probably think with us, that they have

listened quite long enough to this "Voice from Jamaica." We shall, therefore, dismiss Mr. Bridges, after recording only one other grave accusation, which he has brought against Mr. Wilberforce.

"In page 17 of your Appeal," he says, "you confidently make an assertion, which it happily falls peculiarly within my province to reply to, upon the authority of that character beneath which I claim credit for my affirmations. You state, that no attempts have been made to introduce among the negro slaves the Christian institution of marriage. Now, Sir, this I positively contradict, by stating that I have myself married one hundred and eighty-seven couples of negro slaves, in my own parish, within the last two years, all of whom were encouraged by their owners" (differing of course in judgment from the Rev. Mr. Nash,) "to marry; and that the anxious wish, at present expressed by them to bind themselves by this sacred institution, we hail as one of the first fruits of the dispensation of Christian principles. In another parish, St. Thomas in the East, I have reason to know, that there have been three times that number married during the incumbency of the present rector, Mr. Trew: and, though not speaking from numerical information, I can safely affirm, that the labours of the clergy, in the remaining nineteen parishes, have been equally active, and doubtless crowned with the same success. I therefore trust, Sir, that your candour will induce you to acknowledge the truth of what your want of charity towards the labours of our established clergy has led you blindly to assert." (Pp. 22, 23.)

We beg particular attention to this very plausible and imposing statement. Mr. Bridges declares, that he has married, within the last *two years*, one hundred and eighty-seven couples, in his parish of Manchester. Let it be noted, that Mr. Bridges must have written this in the month of April or May, 1823; and of course, the two years he speaks of must be those of 1821 and 1822. Now, it appears from the official returns of marriages, laid last session on the table of the House of Commons, that up to the year 1820, not a single marriage was celebrated in the said parish of Manchester; and further, that in 1821, the first of the two years referred to by Mr. Bridges, three took place, and in 1822, the other of the two years referred to by him, none took place. Therefore the remaining 184 marriages must have been celebrated by Mr. Bridges between January, 1823, and the following April or May, when he wrote his pamphlet: that is, they must have been celebrated, after Mr. Wilberforce's Appeal had reached Jamaica. We ask, then, what other conclusion can be drawn, than that they were got up to serve a purpose? The marriages were celebrated, that the story of them might be told, and thus a practical refutation furnished of Mr. Wilberforce's statement. But, being true friends of the Church and its clergy, we wish, that, since this story was to be told, and

told in such a manner, some other person, not a clergyman, had been employed to tell it.

On this subject of marriages in the Colonies, we subjoin some of the returns laid before Parliament, which tend to show the number of marriages for the last fourteen years in the parishes mentioned: and it is to be recollected, that the average slave-population in these parishes is sixteen thousand: in St. John's parish, one marriage; St. Thomas in the Vale, none; Vene, one; Clarendon, two; St. Anne's, none; St. Elizabeth's, none; St. James's, two; Hanover, none; Falmouth, one; Port Royal, two; Portland, twenty-seven; St. Mary, thirty-six; St. George's, forty-seven. From the parishes of St. Catherine and Westmorland, no returns have been made. In the parish of St. Dorothy, where Mr. Bridges had been rector, before he went to Manchester parish, there has not been a single marriage.

There is yet one other point connected with this important subject, to which we must advert in conclusion.

The recent disturbances in Demerara have been triumphantly pointed to by the advocates of the West Indian system, as the accomplishment of their predictions concerning the pernicious consequences likely to arise from the discussions in Parliament on the subject of slavery. Touch this subject, said they, and blood will be shed. Accordingly blood has been shed; and they trace it to this cause. But it is obvious to remark, that, if the objection be good for any thing, it lies against all discussion concerning the state and treatment of the slaves, at all times. It was urged incessantly during the debates on the abolition of the slave-trade; and, if it had been then attended to, that execrable traffic would, to this hour, have disgraced the British nation. It was advanced also during the discussions on the Registry Acts, and ever will, when any measure is proposed, connected with the colonies, to which the planters shall be hostile. How different is the impression on the mind of the governor of Demerara, appears from the proclamation, which he issued as soon as the disturbances had broken out. So far from imagining, that any rumour of an intended improvement in their condition, originating in this country, had inflamed the slaves, and that therefore it might be necessary to suppress such rumours, or in some way to counteract the effect of them, he set forth in his proclamation, issued for the very purpose of bringing them back to their duty, an assurance, that it was intended by the government of this country to mitigate the rigours of their slavery. This fact speaks strongly; especially, when we take into account, that the governor is himself a

planter, and therefore deeply interested in the tranquillity of the colony, as well on the ground of his property, which is at stake, as from an honorable anxiety to discharge in the most effective manner the duties of his office. But is it, because this is the first instance of disturbances in the colony, that the recent debates in Parliament have been considered as the cause, in which they have originated? So far from it, a spirit of insubordination has shewn itself there at times, when it was impossible to trace it to any excitement from without. Nor can any extrinsic excitement be deemed necessary to account for discontent and tumult among the slaves in Demerara. The causes are to be found in the peculiar severity of the system in operation there, and in the nature and component parts of its slave population. The slave-population there consists, not of negroes born on the spot, but, for the most part, of imported Africans, and of slaves transported from our other colonies. Of these latter, thousands within the last few years have been torn from the places, where they had formed family-connections, and where their servitude was comparatively lighter, particularly from the Bahama Islands, and consigned to the worst species of colonial slavery amidst the woods and swamps of this pestilential climate. Is there not in these circumstances more than sufficient to account for the recent disturbances, without attributing them to the discussions in Parliament, of which (it is highly probable) the slaves never heard, till informed of their result by the governor's proclamation?

The planters deceive themselves, if they suppose that such misrepresentations will divert the House of Commons from redeeming that pledge, which it gave in the last session, by the unanimous adoption of Mr. Canning's resolution. It will be highly proper indeed, to investigate carefully the nature and causes of an insurrection, in which the insurgents, while they have not shed a single drop of blood, nor burned even a single shed, nor, as far as we have learned, even offered resistance to the force, which opposed them, have been not only slaughtered in the field, but to the amount of nearly one thousand, as has been reported, put to death by the executioner. We see in these occurrences fresh ground for parliamentary interference, and another powerful reason for the immediate adoption of meliorating measures.

ART. XXIII.—NORTH AMERICAN EPISCOPACY.

1. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in a General Convention, held in St. Peter's Church, in the City of Philadelphia, from the 20th to the 25th day of May inclusive.* A. D. 1823. New York. 1823. Pp. 115.
2. *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.* By William White, D. D. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia. 1820. Pp. 474.
3. *Journals of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Ohio, from 1818 to 1822.* Columbus, Delaware, Worthington. In all pp. 186.
4. *A Sermon preached before the Auxiliary Education Society of the Young Men of Boston, Jan. 1822.* By Samuel Farnar Jarvis, D. D. Rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston. 1822. Pp. 24.
5. *Thoughts on the Anglican and Anglo-American Churches.* By John Bristed, Counsellor at Law. New York, printed. London, reprinted, 1823. Pp. 500.
6. *A Letter from Bishop Chase, on the subject of his going to England, for the relief of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Ohio; addressed to the Right Rev. Bishop White.* New York. 1823.
7. *Address to the Episcopal Churches in the Atlantic States, on the subject of extending the Church into the new and rising States in the West.* By the Rev. Amos Baldwin, late Agent of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In the Philadelphia Recorder, Oct. 4, 1823.

THE state of religion in the American Union is a subject of the deepest interest and importance to the Christian, as well as to the politician. The greatest legislators in all former ages have acknowledged the necessity of religion, for the establishment and well-being of civil society: the only instance, in which it has been attempted to found a government upon atheism occurs in the history of France; and the bitter effects of that mad and impious attempt are yet fresh in our recollections. On the establishment of the United States of America, as an independent power, the enemies of religion and of religious establishments were loud in their anticipations of the triumph of liberal opinions, as they were pleased to term them. Forty-one years have elapsed since

that event; and the results, as far as we have been able to collect them, are not the most favorable to the diffusion of pure and undefiled religion. Originally, the confederation consisted of thirteen members; but by the formation of new states, the number is now increased to twenty-four; which, with the territories of Michigan and Arkansas and the district of Columbia, comprise, according to the census of 1820, now before us, a population of 9,625,734 persons, (of whom 1,531,436 are slaves) and extend over an immense territory, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and from the Lakes to the Gulph of Mexico. This territory is rapidly becoming the abode of civilized man; the tide of emigration is passing along with the rapidity and force, and so far as the native tribes are concerned, (we fear it may be added also,) with something of the desolating influence of a mountain torrent. The necessaries of life being easily attainable, there is nothing to check the growth of population: and the settlers of these new regions are already beginning to talk of *Old* and *New* America, just as their forefathers spoke of *Old* and *New* England. But, what is the condition of these new colonists? The Rev. Dr. Jarvis computes, that on the general estimate of one pastor to a thousand souls, there are not enough, at present, to supply three millions of the population of the American Union: consequently there are upwards of six millions of souls, (not seven, as he states) who are either wholly or partially deprived of the means of religion. This gentleman evidently means clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church: but Mr. Bristed, himself an episcopalian, states the number of ministers of religion of all denominations, in round figures, as follows:

Anglo-American or Protestant Episcopal Church	300*
Presbyterian	1,300
Congregational or Independent	1,600
Baptists, chiefly Particular, some General	3,000
Methodists—Travelling Preachers	1,000
Local Preachers	4,000
All other denominations, including Roman-Catholics	600

Total, in 1822 11,800 †

which gives more than one clergyman to every thousand souls. But these ministers of religion are by no means ade-

* This number is under-rated: the *present* number of Episcopal Clergymen is 351, besides ten Bishops.

† Thoughts on the Anglo-American Churches, p. 284.

quately or equally distributed. The Methodists and Baptists are found in all parts of the United States; the Congregationalists or Independents are chiefly confined to what are called the New England States. The Presbyterians are scattered over the middle and southern states; the Society of Friends, who have upwards of three hundred congregations, are most numerous in Pennsylvania and the adjoining states; and the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in New York, Connecticut, Maryland, and Virginia. In the middle states, German Lutherans, German Calvinists, and Moravians are numerous; and the Roman Catholics are the leading denomination in Maryland.

The existence of this diversity of communions is accounted for by the circumstances, which led to the formation of the different colonies in North America. While some parts were peopled by colonists, who emigrated to the new world on account of their religion, others were settled by persons, who went thither from widely different motives, being either impelled by discontent at home, or allured by the thirst of gain. At the commencement therefore of the political existence of the colonies, they were composed of the most discordant materials, as it regards religion: and, when the independence of the United States was recognised, it became necessary to prevent the public councils from being influenced by the preponderance of any one denomination. On this account the constitution of the Federal government only tolerates, but does not support, Christianity; *every* denomination of professing Christians being equally under the protection of the law. In a few states, however, certain modes of belief are required as qualifications for office. Thus, in Massachusetts and Maryland, a declaration of belief in the Christian religion is demanded: in Pennsylvania, Mississippi, and Tennessee, a declaration of belief in the existence of God, and of a future state of rewards and punishments, is sufficient. In North Carolina, no person, who denies the truth of the Protestant religion or the divine authority of the Scriptures, is capable of holding any office; in Massachusetts, the Governor must be of the Christian religion, but in the other states no religious test is required.

No minister of the gospel is eligible to be a legislator in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee: in South Carolina, they are ineligible to be either governors or legislators; in Missouri the only civil office they can hold is that of a justice of the peace: while in New York, Delaware, and Louisiana, ministers of religion are not eligible to any civil office whatever. New Hampshire is said to be the only state, in

which the constitution makes any provision for religious establishments. Its legislature is empowered to authorize the several towns, parishes, &c. therein, to make adequate provision at their own expence for the support and maintenance of *Protestant* ministers of the gospel.

Such is the general external state of religion in the American Union: its actual effects on Society in *Old America*, and its future probable influence on *New America* present a theme for the deepest reflection. The Rev. Dr. Jarvis, adverting to that part of the federal constitution, which only tolerates, but does not support Christianity, introduces the following remarks, which we earnestly recommend to the lovers of innovation in this country.

“ This single measure has altered the whole aspect of affairs. The constitution of the general government immediately became a model for the constitutions of the several States. Thus a force was created, which sapped the foundations of all establishments: and though the religious institutions of Massachusetts and Connecticut have been seated deep in the habits and affections of the people, yet the constantly accumulating power of this formidable lever has at length heaved them from their base. It is now left to men, as individuals, to associate for the purpose of public worship, as they would associate for any object merely of private and worldly interest. In our cities and other large places this may be done. Enough may be found already united in sentiment, to unite in the formation of a Christian congregation. But, when you look beyond them, and contemplate the small villages and hamlets, the population of which is thinly scattered over an area of many miles, you behold the same divisions rending society into shreds and patches, various in texture, and form, and colouring. The few of each religious denomination cannot agree to worship together, and are unable, from the smallness of their number, to support separate places of worship. The consequence is, that they are left destitute of the means of religion. The sanctity of the Lord's day is either violated by an attention to worldly concerns, or is observed in a manner worse than the violation, by being made the occasion of idleness and vice. In this part of our country,* religion was supported by law, until it became the habit of the Community; and therefore it still continues to act with the force of an establishment, as a wheel continues to turn, after the force, applied to it, is stopped. Yet even here we are beginning to feel the evils, arising from division, and to feel them severely. Your parishes are crumbling into ruins. Party is arranged against party. To settle a minister becomes impracticable; or, if two or more are settled, the scanty pittance, given to them for their support, obliges them to escape from the horrors of poverty by removal.

“ If it be so here, what must it be in our newly settled territories, where

* The State of Massachusetts.

religion has no nursing fathers or nursing mothers? One clergyman, it is said, is necessary for a thousand souls. Be it so; but when it is remembered that this thousand may be composed of five or six different denominations, it will be seen at once how the divisions of the Christian community, by increasing its wants, increase the difficulty of supplying them. Can it be a matter of surprise, that, in the midst of all that life and energy which are exhibited in our new settlements, the goodly plant of Christianity should have taken no root, and is withering and dying for want of nourishment? The sound of the axe may ring through the forest; the plough may pierce the sod, which had been before undisturbed for centuries, excepting by the hunter's tread; the streams may be pent up in their narrow bed, and powers not their own given them, to turn the mill-wheel, and afford nourishment and protection to man; villages, and towns, and cities, may spring up and flourish; but, while the smoke is seen to curl from many a domestic hearth, where, alas, are the altars?—where is the village spire, pointing to heaven, and telling to the distant traveller, that he is approaching the abode of Christian, as well as of civilized man? My brethren, the divisions, the hapless divisions, of this little community weaken their strength, and deprive them of all the means of grace. Their children remain unbaptized and uninstructed. The incense of prayer never ascends from the altar of their hearts. The walls of the sanctuary never reverberate with their praises. The memorial of their Redeemer's love never touches their lips. The oblation of charity is never offered by their hand. In the first generation, religion wears itself away by a gradual decline; in the second, it can hardly be said to have existed. As our population increases, therefore, the prospect is shrouded by a more portentous gloom: and there is great danger, that, with all the exertions, which the pious and benevolent can make, we shall become a nation of heathens, and not of Christians." (Jarvis's Sermon, pp. 9---11.)

This, the reverend preacher proceeds to state, is no exaggerated description, for the purpose of making an impression upon the minds of his hearers: he asserts, what we have every reason to believe to be the fact, that it falls far short of the dreadful reality; and it would be no difficult task to corroborate his statements by the opinions of other transatlantic writers. Having, however, given some of their observations on this subject in a former volume of our Journal,* we shall subjoin only one additional testimony, which is the more worthy of attention, as it is given by a recent British traveller (Mr. Welby,) who visited America, particularly its interior, full of prepossessions in favour of that country and of all its institutions, civil and political. Having described the plea-

* British Review for August 1819, Vol. XIX. Pp. 83—87.

sure, with which he had seen Christians of different denominations repairing to their respective places of worship, this writer thus expresses himself: "Whether such a state of religion will long continue, or whether, professing the same end, they may at length unite in the same means, time only will demonstrate. There are, indeed, people who seem to be of opinion, that it will end in no religion at all; and I must confess thus much, that though theoretically it is certainly pleasing to contemplate religion, free from state-trammels, and each man, walking before his God, as his unbiassed conscience shall dictate, yet, as religion ought to influence men's conduct in the world, and as "a tree is known by its fruit," it would be satisfactory to perceive, as the result of such religious liberty, more probity in the every-day dealing between man and man than I have witnessed in the United States. While they talk of the moral and religious principle, of true liberty, honesty, &c. their actions belie their words, and make them appear a nation of unprincipled atheists."

In corroboration of these very severe remarks the traveller proceeds to relate an instance of baseness and ingratitude, one, (he says) among the many, which he witnessed, but which (we sincerely trust) is a singular one; and then asks with becoming indignation,—“Can either a religious or moral principle prevail, where such things are commonly perpetrated? Can the laws be good? can the government be efficient? can a country last, where such things pass as clever strokes of practice, and the most successful swindler is praised as the smartest fellow?” (Welby's *Visit to North America*, Pp. 178, 179.)

If this traveller's statements be correct, (and we certainly have not the means of proving the contrary,) we hesitate not to reply in the negative: nor can it excite surprise, that such should be the state of morals in some parts of the American Union, when it is considered, how scanty are the public means of education in almost every state; and that these scanty means would have been much less, had there been no publicly recognised means at all, and were not vigorous efforts making by the missionary societies of different denominations of Christians, for diffusing the blessings of Christianity among the inhabitants of the newly settled countries.

In this pious undertaking the "Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America" is now zealously laboring; and, as the actual condition of this branch of the Universal Church is comparatively but little known in this country,

we shall devote the remainder of the present article to a sketch of its history and present state, collected from the various documents in our possession.

Before the revolution, which separated the United States of America from the mother-country, a number of churches had been planted there by the missionaries of the venerable Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts : these were withdrawn, when the dependence of the States on the parent-country ceased ; and the church in America was reduced to a languishing and precarious state of existence. But the attachment of its members was too deeply rooted to suffer them to witness its decay without an effort to arrest it ; and their first care was directed to the provision of a valid ministry. In this important undertaking the clergy of the State of Connecticut took the lead ; and, having chosen the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury, who had been one of the above-mentioned society's missionaries, they sent him to England, to solicit consecration at the hands of the English bishops. But, as no civil provision had then been made for the consecration of prelates out of the British dominions, and as the necessities of the American church were pressing, he was induced to apply to the bishops of the Scottish church, where (it was understood) no obstructions of a civil nature existed, and was consecrated to the episcopal office on the 14th of November, 1784, by the Right Rev. Dr. Kilgour, then Primus, or senior bishop of that church, assisted by bishops Petrie and Skinner. Three years afterwards, when the obstructions in England had been removed by an Act of Parliament, which enabled the archbishops of Canterbury and York, under his Majesty's sign manual, to consecrate bishops, the subjects of a foreign country, without requiring from them the usual oaths and subscriptions, the Rev. Dr. W. White, of Pennsylvania, and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Provost, of New York, both of whom had been ordained in England, were consecrated at Lambeth, on the 4th of February 1787, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Archbishop of York, and by the Bishops of Peterborough, and of Bath and Wells ; and in 1790, the Rev. Dr. Madison, of Virginia, was also consecrated by the same authority. Bishop White is now the only survivor of those, who received their consecration in England ; and the remaining *nine* American Bishops have all been consecrated by him.

The following is an outline of the constitution and discipline of this branch of the 'Catholic church.' The whole church is governed by the *General Convention*, which sits once in three years, but which may be specially

convened in the interval, should circumstances render it necessary. This convention is divided into two houses, an upper house, consisting of the bishops, and a lower house, composed of clerical and lay deputies from each diocese. The bishops have the right to originate and to propose acts for the concurrence of the house of deputies, and also have a negative on any acts proposed to them by the latter. All acts of the Convention are to be authenticated by both houses. In every case the house of bishops is to signify to the Convention their approbation or disapprobation (the latter with their reasons in writing,) within three days after any proposed act shall have been reported to them for their concurrence. The election of the house of deputies is thus regulated. The church in each state is entitled to a representation of both clergy and laity, consisting of one or more deputies, but not exceeding four of each order, who are chosen by the convention of the State. If, however, the Convention of any State neglect or decline to appoint either clerical or lay deputies, or if any of these do not attend, from whatever cause, such State is nevertheless considered as being duly represented by the deputies present, and is bound by the Acts of the General Convention.

The *State-conventions*, just mentioned, are annually or biennially held in each diocese, and consist of the clergy, and of lay-delegates, from every separate congregation. These bodies legislate for their respective dioceses, but their local canons must not contradict the constitution of the General Church. Every state in the American Union may become a diocese, whenever the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in such state are sufficiently numerous. There is a standing committee in each diocese or state. The Bishops are to be chosen agreeably to the rules fixed by the convention of such state; and every Bishop is required to confine the exercise of his Episcopal office to his own diocese or district; unless he be requested to ordain, confirm, or perform any other episcopal function, by any church destitute of a Bishop. In every state the mode of trying clergymen is to be instituted by the convention of the church therein: and at the trial of every Bishop, one or more of the Episcopal order must be present; and none but a Bishop can pronounce sentence of deposition or degradation from the ministry on any clergyman, whether Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon.

The regulations concerning the qualifications and testimonials of candidates for holy orders are very strict. Previously to ordination, the candidate must subscribe a declaration that he believes "the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testa-

ment to be the word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation ;" and he solemnly engages " to conform to the doctrines and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States." And no person, ordained by a foreign Bishop, is admissible to officiate, as a minister of this church, until he has subscribed this declaration, and complied with the canon or canons, in that case made and provided.

In the several States or dioceses, each separate church is governed by its rectors, churchwardens, and vestrymen ; and the parochial clergy are elected according to the charters of the congregations. In some churches the minister is chosen by the vestry, consisting of persons annually elected by the pew-holders : in others, they are chosen by ballot, the whole congregation voting. The bishops have no direct patronage ; the clergy are settled by the choice or call of the people, to whom they minister ; their stipend is fixed by the compact between the pastor and the congregation, the fulfilment of which, on both parties, is enforced by the common law ; whence all undue dependence of the clergy upon the people is effectually prevented. No revenues are specially appropriated to the Bishops, who are generally parish-priests ; but, in several dioceses, the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church are laudably endeavoring to raise a "*Bishop's Fund*," in order to disengage the diocesan from parochial duty, and leave him at leisure to perform the services, which are deemed more peculiarly Episcopal.

The Liturgy of this church is almost identically the same with that of the united church of England and Ireland ; such alterations only having been made, as circumstances rendered necessary. The American Episcopal Church believes in the same Articles of the Christian Faith, and acknowledges the same Book of Homilies to contain sound expositions of Christian Doctrine and Practice. The singing-psalms, used in divine worship (which, however, form no integral part of the Liturgy, though commonly bound up with it) are those of Tate and Brady, together with a selection of fifty-seven hymns. As many of these are confessedly in bad taste, and the whole requires revision, the General Convention, held in last May, appointed a joint Committee, consisting of three Bishops, seven presbyters, and seven laymen, to consider and report to the next General Convention, (which will be held in 1826,) whether any and what alterations or additions are necessary to be made to the singing-psalms and hymns. This committee (we learn from a transatlantic correspondent) commenced its labours at Philadelphia, last Octo-

ber ; and, as its members are men of distinguished character and talents, we may anticipate the happiest results from their labours. Another very important measure, adopted by the last convention, was the passing of a canon, prescribing the mode of publishing authorized editions of the standard Bible of this church : by which it is directed that

"The Bishop, in any state or diocese, or, where there is no bishop, the standing committee, is authorized to appoint from time to time some suitable person or persons, to compare and correct all new editions of the Bible, by the standard edition, agreed upon by the general convention ; and a certificate of their having been so compared and corrected, shall be published with the said Book." (Journal. P. 67.)

To the credit of the British Press, we record with much pleasure, that the 'Standard Bible' here mentioned, is the equally beautiful and correct edition, published in 1813, by his majesty's printers, Messrs. Eyre and Strahan.*

From the official "List of the Clergy," annexed to the Journal of the General Convention, it appears, that there are ten bishops and three hundred and fifty-four clergymen, who have the care of about six hundred congregations, including from 250,000 to 300,000 souls ; a small number indeed, compared with the great mass of the population, but annually and steadily increasing. The report of the actual state of this church, laid before that convention, is truly encouraging. But, as we have not room to extract it entire, we shall only notice the more prominent and interesting parts of it, introducing such additional particulars as the several diocesan journals and other documents in our possession may enable us to offer.

In *Vermont* there has been a gradual and steady advancement of the church ; which, by a late decision of the supreme court of the United States, will shortly come into possession of landed property to a large amount, and will thus command a permanent revenue for the support of the clergy. As it is understood, that a part of this revenue will be devoted to the support of a bishop, it is probable, that, in no long time, this state, which at present forms part of the eastern diocese, will be erected into a distinct see. For this munificent addition of property, the American church is indebted to the venerable Society in this country for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to whom these lands belonged before the revolutionary war.

* An account of the singular pains bestowed, in order to secure accuracy to this edition, as well as that of 1806, may be seen in Horne's Introduction to the Critical study of the Scriptures, vol. II. p. 251. note. (Fourth Edition.)

In *Massachusetts* the church may be represented, as flourishing, when we consider the difficulties and trials it had to encounter. Notwithstanding the political and religious prejudices, which operated here with peculiar hostility, there were seventeen churches founded in Massachusetts Proper, between the years 1679 and 1774. During the American Revolution, two clergymen only continued their public ministrations: yet of the seventeen churches, thus founded, fifteen have been preserved to this day, 'through evil report and good report.' Since that event, eight new congregations have been organized, and seven of these within the last ten years. It is remarkable, that the recently formed churches in this state are, generally speaking, more vigorous than those which existed previously to the revolution. This fact is accounted for, in the official report, from the absence of those political prejudices, which were then excited by the supposed inseparable connexion of episcopacy with monarchy. To this statement we shall take the liberty of adding, that the pious and exemplary conduct of its learned and laborious clergy has, with the divine blessing, greatly contributed to the prosperity of the church in the state of Massachusetts; and also, that many well informed and exemplary individuals, weary of the tyranny of independency, have been induced diligently to investigate the records and early history of the Christian church, the result of whose inquiries has led them deliberately to join the communion of the Protestant episcopal church.

In the diocese of *Connecticut*, the state of the church, (notwithstanding some local disadvantages) is upon the whole truly encouraging. In some instances the increase of communicants has been altogether unprecedented; and in every parish where the ministrations of the word and ordinances are regularly enjoyed, the congregations are advancing in numbers, respectability, and zeal. After struggling against popular prejudices for between twelve and fifteen years, the members of the church in this State obtained, in 1823, from its legislature, a charter for an episcopal college. On the subject of this college, we understand an application is making in this country for contributions in aid of a library and philosophical apparatus. The bishop of this diocese, the Right Rev. T. C. Brownell, D.D. LL.D. is at this time publishing an edition of the American Liturgy, entitled, the "Family Prayer-Book;" respecting which we have much pleasure in communicating the following information from an ably conducted Journal, published at Boston, Massachusetts, under the name of the "Gospel Advocate," for August last. "The history,

which this work gives, of the origin of the customs and observances of our church, and the explanation of their design; the elucidation of the arguments by which its doctrines are supported, and, above all, the spirit of piety, which runs through it, the constant exhibition of the truths of the Gospel, and the illustration of the tendency of the several parts of our liturgy to promote a devout spirit and a holy life, render it exceedingly valuable to all, who would maintain our excellent 'form of doctrine,' and would make it the means of promoting the 'power of godliness' in their own hearts."

The State of *New York* having become a royal government and vested in the king, on the accession of James II. to the British throne, this arrangement seems to have been favorable to the Episcopal Church: for the clergy of this diocese constitute one fourth of the total number in the American Episcopal Church. Within the last three years fifteen deacons and twenty-four presbyters have been ordained, and there are at present twenty-four candidates for holy orders. Twenty missionaries are employed in it, and seven new congregations have been duly organized and received into union with its convention. The different societies of the church in this diocese are in full activity; and a charity-school, originally established long before the revolution, has lately been enlarged and organized according to the admirable system of Dr. Bell; by which daily instruction is now extended to two hundred and fifty poor children. Over this diocese the Right Rev. John Henry Hobart, D.D. presides; and when, in addition to the diversified and laborious duties of an American episcopate, (which under even the most favorable circumstances is by no means a sinecure office,) our readers learn that this active and zealous prelate has for many years had the care of a large and populous parish, including one church and two spacious chapels, to which is to be added the responsible office of Professor of Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence, in the 'General Theological Seminary,' noticed in a subsequent page, they will not be astonished, that such labours, unremittingly prosecuted for many years, should have compelled him to visit Europe for his health; and that on his departure from New York, he was most honorably accompanied to the ship's boat, by all the episcopal clergy who were not unavoidably prevented from paying this mark of affectionate homage to their bishop, as well as by a large number of the most distinguished of his fellow-citizens. While we thus notice the extremely flourishing state of the church in the diocese of New York, it is with no small gratification that we are able to add, in the words of the official report,

"There is reason to hope, that, in the much more essential point of spiritual prosperity, the divine blessing continues to rest upon it; and that, in the enjoyment of this, *very satisfactory evidence is afforded of the very natural tendency of the institutions of our church*, and of conscientious adherence to her primitive and evangelical order, to promote the interests of true Gospel piety, and, with them, the glory of the Saviour, and the spiritual and eternal good of his people." (Journal, p. 29.)

Passing the generally flourishing churches in the several States of Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania,* Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia, we cannot forbear to mention in terms of congratulation the addition to the episcopal body, made during the last year, by the consecration of a bishop for the state or diocese of *North Carolina*, in the person of the Right Rev. John Stark Ravenscroft, D.D. from the state of Virginia, who was unanimously elected by the clergy of North Carolina. The prospects of the Church in this state had for a long time been very discouraging: the congregations are now twenty-five in number, seventeen of which have been added within the last three years: they are under the care of *eight* clergymen only! But the most pleasing part of the report is the fact, that

"It is evident to those, who have observed the condition of the church in this state, that a greater zeal for the Gospel, and a higher standard of moral principles and conduct have been produced among its adherents. A greater knowledge has been acquired of the distinguishing principles of our church, and an increasing attention has been paid to its forms and ceremonies." (Journal, p. 39.)

Among the various interesting particulars communicated from *South Carolina*, we must notice the efforts now making to erect a free church at Charleston, the metropolis and chief port of that state, for the poor members of the church, who are not at present connected with any congregations; which church will also afford additional accommodation to the people of colour. In this respect, a noble example has already been set in the city of New York, in the building of St. Philip's church, the minister of which, the Rev. Peter Williams, now in deacon's orders, is a colored man, and his congregation is composed of colored people. It appears, that in the state of South Carolina a large number of this class, both bond and free, have a decided preference for the worship of the episcopal church. This state has the largest slave-population, except Virginia, in the American Union. According to the census of 1820, the white population amounted to 231,812 per-

* Over this diocese presides the Right Rev. William White, D.D. the senior bishop and father of the American church, now in the ninetyeth year of his age.

sons, while the number of slaves was 251,783, and that of free colored persons was 6,714. In communicating Christian instruction to the people of colour, although many and peculiar difficulties are unavoidable, the attempts of faithful laborers have been blessed with success. On this subject we cannot withhold the following admirable passage from the official report, which will (we are assured) be read with the highest satisfaction by every one, who feels any interest in the welfare of those, whose lot it is to pass their lives in perpetual slavery.

"It should be recorded, as an encouragement to perseverance, and in gratitude to the Giver of Grace, that the salutary influence of Christian motives is evidenced in the lives of many of them, in their fidelity to their masters, in their kindness to each other, in their recognition of the claims of government, in contentment, meekness, and devotedness to the one thing needful. The calls to attention in the forms of our public worship, the power of its music, the invariable use of the same prayers, the simplicity of language, which adorns our liturgy, the plan of reading the scriptures in order, whereby 'the whole counsel of God' is declared in his own words, the concise summary of faith in the creed, and of obedience in the commandments, repeated Sunday after Sunday, the practice of reciting after the minister, whereby prayers for private use are learned, and all the fundamental truths acquired; these and other circumstances prove, that the system of our church is eminently adapted to promote the spiritual welfare of the illiterate, and those who have dull minds.

"To this subject the Bishop" (the Right Rev. Nathaniel Bowen, D. D.) "has constantly, in private, and in his annual addresses, invited the attention of the clergy. He speaks of this class of our fellow-beings, 'as a portion of that moral creation, for which Christ died, and for whose spiritual and moral happiness, and the alleviation of their temporal lot, as inseparable from that, we are sacredly bound to be concerned.'" (Journal, pp. 41, 42.)

The preceding facts and statements will give our readers a tolerably accurate view of the present state of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the American Union. Her future prospects are flattering; and the labours of her exemplary clergy are unremitting. In most of the dioceses, (we believe we might say in all) the clergy are *ex officio* missionaries, in addition to their stated pastoral duties. Sunday Schools are attached, we believe, to almost every church. Most, if not all, of the dioceses have likewise their separate missionary societies, as well as societies for the promotion of Christian knowledge by distributing bibles, prayer-books, homilies, tracts, &c. Besides these there has been organized "A Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society" of the whole church, which is in correspondence with the Societies in

London for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, and for promoting Christian knowledge; and also with the Church Missionary Society, which in 1821 granted £200 sterling in aid of its important objects.

But how are ministers to be trained for the supply of the existing churches, and for those distant congregations, which are kept together chiefly by the instrumentality of lay-readers, licensed by the bishops of the several dioceses? In looking over the journals of the different conventions, we have seen many affecting addresses of the bishops on this subject. From these, and from the Journals of the General Convention, we learn, that there is now established in the city of New York, a "General Theological Seminary" for the education of young men for the sacred office. This seminary was originally opened in that city, but for various weighty reasons was removed to Newhaven in Connecticut in 1820. While it was *located* here (our readers will pardon the Americanism), a munificent legacy of nearly 80,000 dollars was bequeathed by the late Jacob Sherred, Esq. of New York, to a seminary or college for the education of candidates for holy orders, on condition of its being established under the authority of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, or of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of New York. The expression of the testator being ambiguous, in order to settle this important difficulty, a special general convention was convened at Philadelphia, from Oct. 30 to Nov. 3, 1821: and from the journal of its proceedings we rejoice to perceive, that the discussions were carried on in a truly Christian spirit, all local attachments and interests being merged in the paramount object of the welfare of the whole church. In order, therefore, that the General Convention might be enabled to take the benefit of Mr. Sherred's bequest, it was resolved, that the Theological Seminary should be permanently established in the state of New York; and that its trustees should have power, from time to time, to establish one or more *branch-schools* in that state or elsewhere, under the superintendence or control of the trustees, who are fully empowered to regulate the seminary, professors, and students. The House of Bishops are *ex officio* trustees, and also, collectively and individually, visitors of the seminary. The other trustees are to be chosen pursuant to the regulations of the General Convention, which we have not room to extract. For the same reason we must omit the constitution of the "Theological Society of the General Theological Seminary," adopted on the 22d of December, 1822,

and sanctioned by the General Convention at its last meeting. We only remark, that, under the presidency of one of the professors, it is instituted "for the purpose of discussing questions, delivering theses or sermons, declamation, and exercises in reading, and for other objects, connected with literary and theological improvement; and particularly for such religious exercises as are calculated to excite and cherish evangelical affections and pious habits." To this design every lover of the church must cordially wish prosperity.

From the report, annexed to the journal of the last General Convention, it appears, that the progress of the students during the past year has been highly satisfactory, and that the seminary is under the tuition of six professors, *viz.* of Biblical Learning and the Interpretation of Scripture, of Systematic Theology, of the nature, ministry, polity, and history of the Christian Church, of Hebrew and Greek Literature, of the evidences of Revealed Religion, with the application of Moral Science to Theology, and lastly, of Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence. The duties of this last professorship were discharged by the Right Rev. Bishop Hobart, until his health compelled him to visit Europe. He was attended by the students one day in every week; who, on these occasions, in rotation, performed the service of the church, as a devotional exercise; and two sermons, frequently more, were delivered by them, which, as well as the performance of the service, were the subjects of the professor's criticisms. The students also went through a short course of instruction on the qualifications and duties of the clerical office. We wish to call the attention of our readers to this topic, because something of the kind is felt to be wanting in our preparation of candidates for holy orders in England.

In justice to the members of the church in America, it must be added, that they have come forward with noble liberality in aid of the General Theological Seminary; and among the list of benefactors to this 'School of the Prophets,' whose names are recorded in the Journal of the General Convention, we saw, with pleasure, the following entry:

"The Rev. Henry Handley Norris, a Clergyman of the Church of England, has made a donation to the seminary of £100 sterling."—(Journal, p. 83.)

The number of Students at present in the Seminary, is *eighteen*; and there are *fourteen* or *fifteen* in the Branch School at Geneva, in the northern part of the State, where we understand it is expected that an Episcopal College will ulti-

mately be established. Yet, were these young men prepared to enter immediately on their sacred functions, they would furnish but a small supply for the growing demand for ministers to dispense the sacraments and ordinances of the Church, and to preach the words of eternal life. Hence in different dioceses we find, that local theological Seminaries are in contemplation ; and we observe in the public journals, that the Rt. Rev. Philander Chase, D. D. Bishop of Ohio, has arrived in this country, to solicit contributions in aid of a Seminary for that diocese.

It is however not without regret that we learn, that the object of this visit of the Right Reverend Prelate has been viewed with something like jealousy. It was indeed natural to suspect (and we also partook of the apprehension) on first hearing of the measure, that the pressing wants of the infant diocese of Ohio might have led the Bishop to overstep the boundaries within which his functions are limited by the general canons of the Episcopal Church. From an examination, however, of the canons of the American Episcopal Church, as well as of the constitution of the General Theological Seminary, it appears to us, that they neither in letter, nor in spirit prohibit such a measure : and we are the more confirmed in our persuasion by the two following facts, viz. 1. That on the removal of the Theological Seminary from New York to Newhaven in Connecticut, when it was wished to establish a separate Theological School at New York for that diocese, the Right Reverend Bishop Hobart explicitly asserted and ably advocated the right of every diocese to provide for the theological education of candidates for holy orders :* And 2. by the still more important fact, that the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church has officially disavowed any interference with the diocesan Semi-

* In a " Pastoral Letter" addressed in 1820 to the clergy and laity of the diocese of New York, by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hobart, it is thus explicitly stated (p. 18)—" The right of every diocese to provide for the theological education of candidates for orders, subject only to the provision of the general canons of the church, cannot be questioned. The ecclesiastical authority of every diocese is responsible for the admission of persons as candidates for holy orders ; who in their state of preparation are under the charge of that authority and amenable to it. It is impossible, for a moment, to doubt the right of any diocese to make any arrangements, which they may deem proper, in consistency with the general canons of the church, for the instruction and aid of candidates who are under its charge. *No act of the General Convention has contravened this right.*" To prevent all misapprehension on this subject, the Bishop declares that both the right and the probability of its being exercised were explicitly stated by the New York deputation in the house of clerical and lay deputies ; and not only quotes the declaration of the house of Bishops cited in the text, as corroborating his opinion, but also states the fact, that the right had already been exercised in the diocese of Virginia. (Ibid, pp.19, 20)

naries. In the Journal of the Convention of 1820 (p. 57.) we meet with the following declaration:—"The House of Bishops inform the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, that, in concurring to the resolutions relative to the Theological Seminary and its removal from the city of New York, they deem it proper to declare, that they *do not mean* by their concurrence to interfere with any plan now contemplated, or that *may hereafter be contemplated, in any diocese or dioceses, for the establishment of Theological Institutions or Professorships.*"

The object of Bishop Chase's visit to England being, therefore, in no respect a violation of the laws of his church or an infringement of the constitution of the Theological Seminary, the next question that presented itself to our minds was this,—Are the wants of *his* diocese so much more urgent than those of the other American dioceses, as to justify his application? With this view we perused his 'Letter to Bishop White,' with very minute attention, referring to the Journals of the diocese of Ohio for a verification of particulars. The result to our minds has been most painfully interesting; it has exhibited a picture of Christian disinterestedness, labours, and privations, on the part of the Bishop and his Clergy, that reminds us of ages long since gone by; and we hasten to lay before our readers a *few* of the most striking particulars.

In his "Letter on the subject of his going to England for the relief of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Ohio, addressed to the Right Reverend Bishop White," Bishop Chase gives the following sketch of the formation of the Diocese of Ohio, and the establishment of the Bishopric.

"On the third day of March, 1817, I left my beloved parish of Christ Church, Hartford, State of Connecticut; and, in so doing, bade adieu to many of the comforts, and nearly all the refinements, of well-regulated Christian society. With what sentiments and feelings I did this, may be witnessed by the tears which I shed at parting, and which scarcely ceased to moisten my cheek for many a day, as the rapid vehicle conveyed me fast to the western wilderness.

"My motives in going were those expressed in my Ordination Vows, 'to seek for Christ's sheep, that were dispersed abroad, and for his children, who are in the midst of this naughty world, that they might be saved, through Christ, for ever.' As Abraham, *I went out from my kindred and friends, not knowing whither I went.* But, the Lord, I trust, being my guide and helper, I commenced my labours in the State of Ohio; concluding, if they were successful, there to continue; if not, to go further among our new settlements, perhaps to Indiana or Illinois. Time, however, soon convinced me, that the field of usefulness was that of the State into which I had first entered. Assisted by the exertions of a fellow-laborer, the Rev. Mr. Searle, the

State was, during the spring and summer, for the most part traversed : parishes were formed, and little societies of Christian worshippers were gathered in many places. Delegates from these attended a Convention, previously appointed, in Columbus, in the following winter, where the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States was adopted, a Diocesan Constitution was formed, and all things regulated according to the usages of our primitive Church. The succeeding June being the time specified by the Constitution for the meeting of the Convention, it was very generally attended ; and a Bishop was, under an existing Canon of the General Convention, unanimously elected. His consecration took place in the following February, A.D. 1819. From this time a new era commenced of labour and care. The new-formed parishes were nearly all visited. Other members of our communion were sought out and found in our woods ; and considerable numbers, who had never professed any sense of religion, were disposed, by the grace of God, in the preaching of the Word and administration of the Ordinances, to forsake their sins, and join the body of the faithful. Our Clergy, this year, consisted of the Rev. Mr. Searle, in the north ; the Rev. Mr. Johnston, of Cincinnati ; the Rev. Dr. Doddridge, of Virginia, officiating, as a Missionary, a part of the time in the State ; and the Rev. Mr. J. Morse, whom in June I admitted to the Holy Order of the Priesthood ; and by these all our parishes, however distant and scattered, were to be sustained." (Bishop Chase's Letter, pp. 3—5.)

This work, however difficult, was attempted. In the following year (June 1820) the Bishop's son, Philander Chase, Jun. was ordained ; who by keeping a School enabled his father to be more extensively useful throughout the State or Diocese of Ohio.

" The labours of the past years," continues Bishop Chase, " were continued with renewed vigour through this of 1820. Cheered by the fond hope, and relying on the promises of God to his church, that he would raise up and send forth laborers into his vineyard, we went on in our exertions to sustain and keep together our infant parishes ; and, though some of them were permitted to enjoy the ministration of a clergyman but one or twice in the year, yet even that was attended with such evident blessings, as for a while to keep them from desponding." (Letter, pp. 5, 6.)

Our readers may form some idea of the overwhelming labour, connected with an infant diocese in such a country as that of the great western wilderness, by the following fact, which we quote from the Journal of the Convention of Ohio, for 1821 (pp. 13, 14.)

" In all this year," says the Bishop, " I have travelled (on horseback) twelve hundred and seventy-nine miles ; confirmed one hundred and seventy-four persons ; baptized many adults and infants ; and have performed divine service and preached eighty-two times," besides visiting the afflicted, the sick and the dying. " In performing this

almost fatiguing duty" (he continues) "I have found my constitution impaired, and my voice, as you may now witness, almost gone."

In consequence of the view of the spiritual wants of the diocese of Ohio, contained in the report of his episcopal labours for the year 1820, the convention of that diocese requested their Bishop "to prepare and transmit to the Bishops of the respective dioceses, in the United States, an address, setting forth the great necessities of the church in the state of Ohio, and soliciting their aid and assistance in procuring missionaries therein." This address is inserted in the appendix to Bishop Chase's letter to Bishop White; it is too long to transcribe entire, but we cannot withhold the following passages of it from our readers:—

"The Map of Ohio will shew you the extent of our charge. Our extreme parishes, as those of Cincinnati and Ashtabula, are distant, each from the other, rising of three hundred miles. In other directions, their distance is not much less. On this vast surface, our settlements are thinly scattered: and, among these settlements, are mingled the members of our primitive church. Having emigrated from places where the pleasant things of our Zion were freely and in abundance ministered, they remember their past enjoyments, as hungry persons think on their former feasts of plenty. In this situation they sit, like the captive Israelites by the muddy waters of the Euphrates' stream, waiting with sighs and tears for redemption to the Church of God; for that blessed time, when the Word and Sacraments can, with any thing like constancy, be ministered among them.

"Besides innumerable individuals, dispersed throughout our state, there are forty-eight places containing our LITTLE FLOCKS, mostly in circumstances similar to the above. These I have hitherto visited once a year. I have witnessed their joy at meeting, and their grief at parting. Their passionate inquiries, prompted by their love of Zion, and especially by the danger of the rising generations being enticed every day from her order and beauty, into the paths of sin and infidelity, their passionate inquiries for some prospects of relief in the enjoyment of faithful missionaries, almost every where repeated, have sunk deep into my heart, and caused my tears to mingle with theirs.

"Our parishes and places of holding Divine Service, are mostly distant from each other from fifteen to sixty miles; and the amount of parochial services is hardly so much as of five Clergymen to support them all. Though these are faithful, I fear, beyond their strength, yet what are they among so many congregations, and at such distances? To keep from ecclesiastical extinction the little flocks already formed, they have, in many instances, encompassed so great a field of duty, that, before they have finished their circuit, their former labours are no more seen; their fences against error are thrown down; the weeds of sin are grown; and their whole ground is laid waste. Too often have I witnessed this with mine own eyes: too often have I seen the lambs of the fold devoured, because a shepherd was too far dis-

tant to hear their cries. What must be my feelings under such circumstances, the beatings of your own bosoms, as you read this, can best express.

"In doing the duty above alluded to, I have found the labours of a missionary inseparable from those of the Episcopate; and, to a person of my age, this assemblage of fatigue is more than can be borne. Incessant speaking in private, as well as in public, in teaching the rudiments of Christianity to the young, in explaining and defending the first principles of our religion to the ignorant opposer, have already much impaired my voice and my general health; and, should this state of things continue, to all human view, my strength will soon be brought down in my journey, and my days will be shortened.

"So circumstanced, where can I, under Divine Providence, look for aid in the arduous work assigned me, but to you, my Brethren in the Lord? Think not, I intreat you, that I do this without due consideration! By what is in print I am apprised of your wants among your own flocks. I see the need you have to apply your own resources at home. But wants as well as riches are RELATIVE. They are small or great only by comparison. A family may be in want, and charity should begin at home: but if a neighbour be dying for want of relief, who can refuse that relief, and be innocent?

"This, in the eyes of all reflecting persons, is our case. Our parishes and people are too dismembered and too poor to maintain qualified ministers of the word and sacraments. They have made their efforts according to their utmost ability, and they find all is insufficient. Should they be suffered to fail in the Diocese, what will remain of the church in the west? They will soon disperse. No funds—no clergy—and soon no people. Thus, even should prosperous days return, there will be no foundation, on which to build a future superstructure.

"Seeing so little hopes of fostering our little flocks which we had formed in the wilderness, even the clergy whom we had, some of them, began to think of removing to more flourishing regions, and leaving the rest to mourn out their days in useless efforts and hopeless solitude. But the Lord hitherto hath helped. Their faith in the expected relief, which this instrument implores, has as yet borne up their spirits. 'We will make this last effort,' say we, 'and God of his mercy will smile upon us. This shall occupy our nightly dream and daily prayer. The fathers of our common church, the chief laborers in Christ's vineyard, will not suffer this *rose in the west*, which God's own right hand hath planted, to be blasted in its bud, its beauty to fade thus untimely, and its fragrance to cease from us for ever. They will, under God, send forth laborers, faithful ministers: they will incite their people to give liberally of their abundance; and we yet shall see the prosperity of our beloved Zion.'" (Letter, Pp. 23—25.)

Some passages of this affecting address, having found their way into one of our Periodical Journals in 1822, naturally called forth from its conductors an expression of generous Christian sympathy; which, having been noticed in an

American newspaper by Bishop Chase's son, and reported by him to his father, kindled a ray of hope in their almost despairing minds, and ultimately led to the determination, to visit the distant land of their fathers, where their wants in the western wilderness were thus known and pitied.

The powerful appeal, contained in the Bishop's address, enabled his son, the Rev. P. Chase, to collect 3000 dollars (upwards of 1300 of which, we rejoice to say, were from the opulent diocese of New York,) for the support of such clergymen as might be introduced to exercise their ministry in the wilds of Ohio. That sum, however, remains but little impaired, because clergymen have not been found, who are willing to encounter the fatigues and privations of ministerial labour in this land. On this subject, Bishop Chase thus speaks in his letter to the venerable Bishop White :

"The result of this application, in a pecuniary point of view, was too favorable to be passed over in silence. With sentiments of sincere gratitude, both to God and man, we received the bounty, fully purposed to expend as little of it in the support of the clergy already in the State, and to reserve as much to defray the expences of other missionaries, whom we might induce to come among us, as possible. Accordingly, our prayers were renewed with redoubled earnestness, and through every channel, that promised success, to our eastern brethren, for some faithful laborers, *to come over and help us.* The Rev. Spencer Wall, this spring, appeared among us, and gave hopes of some assistance : but, being requested to enter on the duties of a missionary, he refused, *by reason of its excessive fatigues and labours*, and, soon after, left the diocese, to the great regret of the parishes which had indulged hopes of his ministrations." (Letter, P. 7.)

Disappointment followed disappointment, till, of the state of affairs at the time of the last convention of Ohio, held on the 4th and 5th of June 1823, Bishop Chase draws, in the letter just cited, the following affecting picture—

"All our clergy, residing in the State (six only in number) were present at this convention. Though cheered by God's grace, and (I hope) supported by his Spirit, we had but a gloomy prospect before us.

"Too well was it known among us that some of our parishes had, by reason of a want of any thing like constant ministrations, become discouraged and had ceased to be : others had complained that the promises of missionaries had not been fulfilled ; that they had kept together under the benefits of lay-reading ; but that, unless some new hope could arise, they could do so not much longer.

"Add to these complaints of the destitute laity, we had mutually to endure those of the clergy. Their labours, they alleged, were more than the human constitution could reasonably bear. Their parishes and places of preaching were so distant, their travelling in most seasons of the year so bad, and the pressing importunities to officiate so frequent, that not only all opportunities of study and im-

provement were cut off, but their families were suffering for things needful and necessary.

“ ‘When,’ said they, ‘shall we have that assistance from our brethren in the east, which we had hoped for; and which our distressed condition, and the very existence of the church, as a diocese, so imperiously demand? After so long a period has elapsed, since the affectionate and supplicant appeal was made for missionary aid, and after so many have been ordained to the ministry, is there not one found, who is willing to encounter, what we have encountered, for the glory of God in the good of the church? If we are to wait, until the Atlantic states are all supplied with clergymen, does not the increasing state of the church there, not only bedim, but for ever extinguish the eye of hope here, that any will ever come from thence? And, this being the case, who will supply our places when we are gone, to say nothing of the numerous parishes unsupplied? So poor are we, in such confined and uncomfortable dwellings do the most of us reside, so scanty are our libraries, and so incessantly engaged are we in parochial and missionary duties, that we can neither assist, nor direct, nor teach the young men who apply to us for orders, though there are not a few. If the qualifications for the ministry are kept up to their present standard (and we pray that they may be ever so) by what, except a miracle, can we be supplied with clergymen?’

“ The only answer to this question was given, by stating the imperious necessity of having an institution for the education of young men for the ministry, among those who are to be benefited by their labours.

“ But this subject is so much better stated by the Right Rev. Bishop Bowen, of South Carolina, in a letter to me, that I beg leave to refer you to it.” (Ibid, Pp. 9—12.)

Bishop Bowen thus writes :

“ It has been painful in a very great degree, to contemplate the obstacles which have seemed to impede the success of your zealous and apostolic labours in the West. I have been aware, that the chief of these was the difficulty of procuring Clergymen, suited, by their education and habits, to the peculiar nature of the service to be performed. The view, which you express, of the characteristic necessity of the case of the Church in the Western States, is not only that, in which I am disposed to acquiesce, but the same, which I have myself for some years entertained. *Your clergy must be sons of the soil.* A Mission to the Western-Ocean Islands does not more require an adaptation of character to circumstances in the ministry, than an effectual propagation of the Gospel, according to the doctrine and discipline of our church, in the Western Territories of the United States. Wales must not more of necessity have clergymen, who are **WELCUMEN**, than Ohio, Illinois, &c. clergymen, who, by early training and habit, are capable of assimilation to the character of their inhabitants *generally*, and of enduring the travel and exposure of their woods and hills. Do not mistake me! I am not ignorant of the respectable degree of improvement and intelligence which obtains in your diocese. My allusion, is to the hardships, necessary to be en-

duced by ministers of the Gospel, from the scattered condition of the people, with whom, as members of our church, they may be concerned; and the yet *comparatively* rough state of much of the extensive country which must be the scene of their labours. Men, educated in other conditions of society, are scarcely in any instances capable of this. I am fully sensible, therefore, that, if you have an efficient ministry at all, it must be constituted by the education, among yourselves, of men, born and reared among you." (Letter, Appen. p. 26.)

The plan of the intended Theological Seminary, for the diocese of Ohio, is thus stated by Bishop Chase:

"A landed estate will be given us, already improved, and supplied with pure water, fuel, fruit, and some convenient buildings. From this farm will be produced the principal support of the young men in their board and comforts. That this may be done with the least expence to them, they will covenant, as they enter the school, to attend to horticulture and to the ingathering of the harvest; this, however, never as an impediment to their studies, but to supply the place of that exercise necessary for their health. In the spring and fall of the year, the accounts of the establishment will be settled, and the average expence assessed on each individual: this, it is evident, can be but small. To accustom our youth, the future servants of a beneficent Redeemer, to acts of substantial charity, and as a means of disseminating the principles of our holy religion throughout our barren region and especially among the poor and ignorant, a printing press and types will be solicited; and the young men, or some proper proportion of them, will, at convenient hours of the day, be employed in printing tracts and a periodical publication. The Institution is to be under the immediate care of the Bishop for the time being, or his substitute; assisted by two or more professors of sacred learning." (Letters. pp. 13, 14.)

The estate, alluded to in the preceding extract, is the whole property which Bishop Chase possesses in this world. After securing from it, in case of his own early death (and he is, we understand, considerably advanced in life), some assistance to his widow and the younger branches of his family, he devotes it to the advancement of that object which lies nearest to his heart,—the object of supplying faithful ministers to the flock confided to his charge. The view, which the Bishop of Ohio has given of the peculiar wants of the great Western Territory, and of the best manner of meeting them, is strikingly confirmed by the address to the Episcopal Churches of the Atlantic States, published in the Philadelphia Recorder of Oct. 4, 1823, by the Rev. Amos Baldwin, a clergyman of the diocese of New York; who had been employed by the General Missionary Society of the American Episcopal Church. We wish that we had room for the whole of this document; but we can only find space for the following extracts:—

“ Churchmen have removed from all the Atlantic States into most parts of the New States. These are sighing in their new habitations for the pleasant things of Zion which they left, and mourning over the saddening prospects of their rising families; or have lost all sensibility on the one subject most important to them, as accountable and immortal creatures, and need to be awakened from their spiritual lethargy. There is a wide field in the West, which is rapidly extending on every side, inviting culture from our hands, and promising a rich harvest, and abounding glory to Him whose blessing giveth the increase. There may be, there must be, toils and sacrifices in cultivating these new fields: but those who enter into them shall reap no little satisfaction here in witnessing the success of their labours, and glory hereafter in the presentation of the fruits of their toils before the presence of God in heaven.

“ But the inducing of a few clergymen to remove into the Western States is not the principal object of this Address. The PLANTING of a church in any country must be by FOREIGN ministers: but the WATERING of a church therein---its preservation and increase---must be by the labours of DOMESTIC ministers; men who have been brought up and educated in the country where the church exists. To this observation the most serious attention of the reader is solicited. Cast your eye over the history or present state of the church, and you will see sufficient proofs of its truth. Make the attempt to induce a certain number of clergymen to remove into the Western States, and you will perceive the necessity of THERE BEING PROVISION MADE FOR THE EDUCATION OF YOUNG MEN RESIDENT IN THOSE STATES, for effecting the object in contemplation---THE EXTENSIVE FOUNDING AND LASTING PRESERVATION OF THE CHURCH THERE.

“ Let it not be imagined that there is a feeling of hostility in the breast of the writer toward the rising Theological Establishments in the Atlantic States. There is no more ground for such an imagination, than for the supposition of hostility existing in the minds of the projectors of Literary Institutions in the West towards similar Eastern Institutions; and the interests of the church in those states as much require the founding of a theological school there, as the interests of literature demand the founding of seminaries of learning: and it could with as much truth be said, that the youth in the Western States, designed for the other learned professions, can go to the Eastern colleges, as that the youth, designed for the ministry, can go to the Eastern theological schools. Were there no seminaries of general literature in the Western States, a few gentlemen's sons would be sent to the Eastern colleges; but how, in that case, would literature languish in the West! and how few young men of those states will be prepared for the sacred ministry, if no theological seminaries shall be formed there! I am fully aware of the magnitude of the contemplated object, which I am free to avow has its origin in my own mind, and of the probable difficulties of attaining it. But neither appal my mind.”

It will be observed, that Mr. Baldwin urges the establish-

ment of a General Theological Seminary for *all* the Western States of the Union (which would require the large sum of 50,000 dollars, or £11,250 sterling to carry it into full effect) ; as that already existing at New York may serve for the Eastern States. Bishop Chase's more immediate object is a seminary for his own diocese of Ohio ; and he proposes to erect it on a spot which Mr. Baldwin considers to be the most eligible situation for a seminary even with the most extensive views. The Bishop's plan, however, will be capable of enlargement at any future time ; and it has this superior advantage, that it commences upon a scale, which is speedily practicable. As the patrimony, which the Bishop has so generously sacrificed to the welfare of the church, may be worth 5000 dollars or £1,125, the contribution of 10,000 dollars, or £2,250 more by the friends of the church, would enable him to make an auspicious commencement. In respect to the mode of instruction, best adapted to local wants, Mr. Baldwin entirely coincides with Bishop Chase ; and he has drawn the following picture of the vast field of usefulness.

"The institution will be a perennial spring, sending out its pure fertilizing waters into every part of those lands, and making glad the cities of our God. And over how large and interesting a section of the American Empire will the waters of that healing fountain flow ! Look on the map of America, and compare the Western States—Transalpine America—with the rest of our rising empire. Observe the facilities of intercourse in the mighty rivers that wash the western parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia, the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Suppose a Theological Seminary established near Cincinnati—how great the facilities of visiting it from every part of the Western States, and some of the Southern ! How many and great would be the blessings flowing from it to the numerous people living in those extensive and fertile regions ! From Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Ohio is 800 miles ; and the Mississippi is navigated from its mouth to the Fall of St. Anthony, a distance of 2000 miles. From the Missouri also, the Arkansas, and other large rivers, on which our brethren are fixing their habitations, behold the numerous people, who will in every succeeding age receive inestimable benefits from the founding of a Theological Seminary in the West, and you will see that an Institution there will be above all price.

In order to prevent the possibility of the diversion, in any future generation, of the funds of the seminary to be established at Ohio, as well as to secure the unity of the Church as to all the intents of her constitution and canons, Bishop Chase proposes to insert in the legal act of incorporation of his Theological Institution a proviso, that on evidence of mal-application, the General Theological seminary, or the Bishops as a committee of that body, should be legally authorized to inves-

tigate and to correct abuses. We have not room to state all the circumstances, which led the convention of Ohio to request first Bishop Chase's son, the Rev. P. Chase, and afterwards, when he was incapacitated by declining health, caused by excessive ministerial labours, the Bishop himself to visit this country. Suffice it to state, that the Bishop of Connecticut, Dr. Brownell, the Bishop of the neighbouring diocese of North Carolina, Dr. Ravenscroft, who is well acquainted with the spiritual wants of Ohio, and the Bishop of South Carolina, Dr. Bowen, have expressed their decided approbation of the fatiguing journey which Bishop Chase has undertaken in visiting this country. The following extract of a letter which he addressed to the other prelates of the American Church, a few days before he quitted his home, most forcibly delineates the necessities of his diocese.

"The reasons which have impelled me to this measure are those of imperious necessity. No missionaries make their appearance; nor are there even the most distant hopes of obtaining any from the east. Those who transiently visit us, pass like meteors, leaving behind little or no salutary effect; or stay only time enough to spy out the nakedness of the land, and bear off an evil report of our wants and miseries. Had it not been so ordered that I have found here two or three, accustomed to our wants, and inured to the difficulties, necessities, and labours of a new country, who were in some due degree prepared for the ministry, and willing to enter it in a critical moment, half a dozen of our parishes would have been ere this, as many others already are, extinct.

"The few Clergy we have may keep us alive, under Providence, a little longer; but when they die or move away, we have no means to supply their places. The pious young men, converted unto God, and willing to enter into the ministry under all its disadvantages, having no hope of assistance, and no way pointed out to them whereby there is even a possibility of attaining the lowest degree of qualifications specified by our Canons, sink down in despair—a despair, from which we have no power to raise them. We may think of the privileges at the East, of the means of education there; but this is all: they are out of our reach. Besides, if our young men were there, if we could find money in our woods, or drag it from our streams, to send and maintain them at the Eastern Seminaries, who could ensure us, that they would not be enticed by the superior offers, held out to them, to settle there, and leave us still in our wants? In short, unless we can have some little means of educating our pious young *HERE*, and, *HERE* being secure of their affections, station them in our woods and among our scattered people, to gather in and nourish our wandering lambs, we have no reason to hope in the continuance of the Church in the West.

"The Church of God is, in this respect, like the habitation of man in the settlement of every new country. Men must begin, as they have means: splendour and prosperity must be the result of previous

privations; and he, that will not for a time be content with a CABIN, shall never have a PALACE. Thus if we wait for Congregations and Churches to arise, before our well-educated Clergy can make their appearance, the country must for ever do without them. We have done so too long already; and most deleterious have been the consequences. For one, I feel disposed, by the grace of God, to mend my ways in this respect. I will endeavor to institute an humble School, to receive and prepare such materials as we have among us. These we will polish under our own eye, to the best of our power; and with these we will build the temple, humble as it may be, to the glory of God.

"Having entered on this resolution, under the guiding and directing hand of Providence, I shall make my best way to the land of our fathers—to the Church of England—to that generous people, who will not turn a deaf ear to the cries of those, who are ready to perish, especially if in them she identify her legitimate children. Thus under God being resolved, the Episcopal Church in the West will not—must not die, without a struggle. (Letter to Bishop White, Ap. pp. 29, 30.)

We feel assured, that no one, who cherishes any regard for the united Church of England and Ireland, will "turn a deaf ear to the cries of those who are ready to perish," or withhold his benevolent aid from them;* especially when we add, that there are now twenty-eight parishes in the diocese of Ohio, besides a very great number of places, where public worship is occasionally held, and where parishes might be formed, if ministers could be obtained. How arduous the labours of the Bishop and his few clergy (only *six* in number) are, will be evident, when it is stated, that they extend over *thirty thousand square miles of newly-settled or still unsettled country*; that out of a population of nearly SIX HUNDRED THOUSAND PERSONS, (who by the census of 1820 were found to occupy the state and diocese of Ohio,) *numbers consist of our own countrymen, or their families*; and that of those, who are already brought under the charge of Bishop Chase, nearly ONE THIRD are emigrants and their families, from Great Britain, and Ireland, who cherish a fond and devout attachment to the Liturgy, Worship, and Church of 'the land of their fathers.'

* Since this article was written, we have been informed, that Henry Hoare, Esq. is Treasurer of a fund in behalf of the Diocese of Ohio, and that contributions to the object are received at the Banking house of Messrs. Hoare, in Fleet-street.

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116	15			good.
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—	28	rapide	rapide.	
121	45	part	port.	
—	46	have been	be.	
130	19	seem	seemed.	
—	22			
150	42	lady	lady's.	
156	2	have	give.	
247	26			as.
248	28	judgment	judgment.	
252	35			2nd of.
262	40	consise	concise.	
273	2 & 13	Irvine	Irving.	
—	31	Guere	Guerre.	
284	9	avid	arid.	
288	45	gay or glad	glad or gloomy.	
293	37			that.
304	15	rangies	rangies.	
306	32	Etolia	Ætolia.	
309	16	après	après.	
318	48	the	same.	
323	7	beat	beaten.	
328	38	anti-ministerial	antiministerial.	
—	51	irresistable	irresistible.	
374	32	resting	vesting.	
391	18	shoul dperfectly	should perfectly.	
438	36	Appella	Apella.	
454	11	favorable	favorable.	
—	21	admitted	admitted.	

